

OLD BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

“अभिधातवशात् किंवा द्रव्यशक्तिर्विशिष्यते ।

अतो मत्सरमुत्सृज्य माध्यस्थ्यमवलम्ब्यताम् ॥

ऋषि-प्रणीते प्रीतिश्चेन्मुक्ता चरक-सुश्रुतौ ।

भेडाद्याः किं न पठ्यन्ते तस्माद् ग्राह्यं सुभाषितम् ॥”

OLD BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

IN THE UDAYAGIRI AND KHANDAGIRI CAVES

Edited with new readings and critical notes

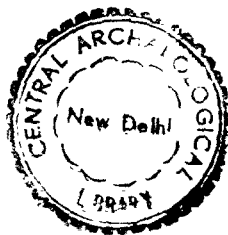
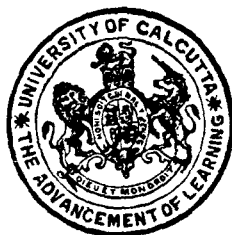
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To
All of those
who paved the way
for this work
in token of
respect and gratitude

PREFACE

The preparation of a critical edition of fourteen old Brāhmī inscriptions and one table of Brāhmī alphabet in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, such as has been attempted in the present volume, is an undertaking, which could not be faced without a feeling of diffidence. So far as I am concerned, it had never been in my contemplation to undertake this difficult work before the task of teaching the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela was thrust upon me by the Boards of Higher Studies in Pāli and Ancient Indian History and Culture in the session 1924-25, during the absence on leave of the colleague in charge of the subject. I proceeded, however, with the task, examining the facsimiles of this baffling epigraph, reading and discussing its text and interpretation, week after week, in a class of pupils, all of whom readily co-operated with me, and yet the prospect of solving its riddles was far from being bright. After many fruitless attempts I took it up in all earnestness in 1927, devoting myself wholly to it during the Poojah holidays with the firm determination to come to a definite solution. It was only towards the middle of October that the faded lines of the document appeared to me in a somewhat clear light.

I was aware that since Mr. Stirling published the first notice of this inscription in 1827 in a volume of the Asiatic Researches, James Prinsep, General Cunningham and Rājendra Lāla Mitra grappled with it without even succeeding in ascertaining the name of King Khāravela, in whose name it stood. The study of it obtained, no doubt, a right direction and received a fresh impetus when Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji

published his edition in 1907 in the *Acts du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*.

I knew quite well that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal stood foremost amongst those who had tried, in recent times, to carry on the work commenced by Indrajī, and that he was the scholar and epigraphist to whom the Indologists would ever remain indebted for his untiring energy in leaving no stone unturned to make the contents of Khāravēla's inscription known to the world and to emphasize their importance and value. In spite of the fact that he achieved much by way of orientation of the opening and concluding paragraphs of the Hāthi-Gumphā text, I felt that his treatment of the subject left room for a good deal of revision and supplementation.

Making it a point of duty to take best guidance from the publications of previous scholars and epigraphists, from Stirling, Kittoe and Prinsep to Jayaswal and Banerji, I essayed since 1925 with the aid of Locke's plaster-cast in the Calcutta Museum and with the aid of the eye-copies and estampages within my access to probe into secrets of the Hāthi-Gumphā text. And realising that the study of this important text would be incomplete without that of other old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, I thought it would be worth while also to carefully examine their readings and renderings published by Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrajī, and finally by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII. Examining and re-examining these shorter inscriptions as they appeared on original stones, plaster-casts and facsimiles, I was able to detect certain palpable mistakes in previous publications standing badly in need of correction.

This in itself, as I believed, was a sufficient justification for venturing a fresh undertaking. But it seemed to be no less a justification that Khāravēla's inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā and the remaining old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, were not studied before in

their inter-connection, as well as in their connection, with the table of Brāhmī alphabet in the first Tattva-Gumphā on the Khaṇḍagiri hill.

It will be noticed that all the shorter inscriptions have been treated in the present work, together with the table of Brāhmī alphabet, as appendices to the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, while the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription itself has been treated as the main text serving as a complete Khāravela-Carita,—anyhow, a Prakrit panegyric (*praśasti*) of King Khāravela in ancient Indian epigraphy, composed by some unknown Harisena or Bāṇa in an elegant prose diction clearly anticipating the prose style of the Pāli Milinda-Pañha. The scheme of treatment has been conceived in such a manner that it includes Khāravela's inscription as the first text, Khāravela's chief-queen's inscription as the second text, Kadampa-Kudepa's inscription as the third, and so on and so forth till the series closes with the Tattva-Gumphā table. And yet I am afraid that the sense of incompleteness is apt to remain in view of the fact that some four or five caves which have sunk down showing just their covering roofs on the slopes of Udayagiri have not, as yet, thanks to the goodness of the Department of Archaeology, been completely exposed to view, affording a chance to the visitors to satisfy themselves as to whether they bear inscriptions or not, and if they bear any inscriptions, what their contents and characters would be. Pressure of work and shortage of funds would be lame excuses, I venture to submit, in this case, for just a few strokes of the pick and shovel are what is required to accomplish the needful work.

Even though some of the inscriptions in some of the buried caves do not find place in this volume, for the reasons stated above, it may be hoped that their contents and characters, when made known, will not have much to add to the information culled from those records which find place in it.

True it is that I have found it expedient to be guided,

may, even misguided, by Mr. R. D. Banerji, to treat the table of Brāhmī alphabet inscribed in scarlet colour, not to say written in red ink, on a dressed portion of the back wall of one of the chambers of the Tattva-Gumphā on the Khaṇḍagiri hill as of the same date as the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri caves. On my visit to Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, the caretaker appointed by the Archæological Department informed me that the late lamented Mr. Panday doubted the contemporaneity of this table with Khāravela's inscription. Mr. Panday might be right, but he did not substantiate his opinion with any definite evidence. Till nothing was found to upset Mr. Banerji's assumption, I thought I should make the best use of it in including the fourteen old Brāhmī inscriptions, as well as the Tattva-Gumphā table in a complete and coherent scheme of treatment. Whatever be the actual date of this curious table, it is certain that the general forms of the Brāhmī letters which appear in it closely resemble those of the Brāhmī characters in the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions. Certainly the importance of this table lies in the fact that it clearly indicates the first step to the engraving of inscriptions with chisel and by means of whetting on pieces of stone or rocky surfaces. It goes at once to show that the engravers used first to make designs of the letters to be engraved in some sort of colour or ink. As the Hatthipāla-Jātaka (Fausböll, Vol. IV, p. 489) goes to prove, inscribing in letters of vermilion upon a wall (*jātihiṅgulakena bhittiyā akkharāṇi likhanam*) was a common practice in India. It was not, moreover, unusual, as some of the Central Asian manuscripts attest, to annex a table of alphabet as a key to the reading of the manuscript. Whatever be the actual date of this table, I find no difficulty in supposing its purpose to be that of serving as a key to the reading of the whole set of old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves. I am sure that it will not make any differ-

ence to the scheme of treatment adopted in the present work, even if the Khandagiri caves, their old Brāhmī inscriptions and table of old Brāhmī alphabet prove to be posterior to the Udayagiri caves with their old Brāhmī records.

The present work comprises two books, the first of which consists of texts and translations of the inscriptions, and the second of notes or dissertations. It is evidently a departure from the usual practice of introducing the texts, translations and word-notes by an introduction dealing appropriately with the points of general importance. In reversing the usual order, my sincere desire is to enable the reader to form his own opinion before reading the author's opinion developed in the notes. It will, nevertheless, be seen that with the text and translation of each of the inscriptions has been attached a short preface or introduction dealing with matters of textual importance and containing a full bibliography.

The reader's attention must also be drawn to the fact that as regards the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, I have preferred the paragraphic arrangement of its text to the usual and mechanical "line" arrangement. But the "line" arrangement, too, has not been ignored; it has simply been subordinated to the paragraphic arrangement.

I confess that in building up the dissertations I have had to take the old Brāhmī inscriptions at their face value. If King Khāravela had really recorded falsehood in his inscription, there is no means of checking it. But to raise the slightest suspicion as to the veracity of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is, to my mind, to be over-indulgent to unnecessary scepticism.

Taking the records as they are, or as they can be made out, I have been concerned to discuss, in a threadbare manner, their historical bearings and importance, showing all possible sides and keeping an eye to consistency of the data yielded by them. What I mean by consistency of the data may be best understood in the light of an example. If, as recently

done by Mr. Jayaswal, *Naṃdarāja* in the expression *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghātita-panāḍī* be taken to signify the *Nanda-era*, one has got to show that the same *Naṃdarāja* in another expression, viz., *Naṃdarāja-nīta-Kāliṅga-Jināsana*, can be taken to convey the same meaning. If it can be shown, I say there is consistency ; if not, I say there is no consistency.

As regards the disputed points admitting of two alternative readings or renderings, there are one or two instances (e. g., *Goradhagirīṃ ghātāpayitā*), where I have indicated my predilection differently in the two books. I humbly request the reader, therefore, not to take anything to be my final opinion without considering the position taken up by me in the book of notes.

While I leave the whole of this work to be judged for what it is worth, I may confidently hope that if the readings proposed by me stand the test of time, they will serve to lay many old ghosts for ever, and to convince the reader once for all (1) that there is no statement in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as to the population of Kāliṅga ; (2) that there is no allusion to Ṛṣi Khibīra ; (3) that it contains no statement as to the Greek king Dīmīta-Demetrios retreating with his troops and transports to abandon Mathurā ; (4) that there is no mention of *Āvarāja* ; (5) that there is no statement as to Pithuḍa being ploughed with an ass-plough ; (6) that there is no statement as to the existence of a league of the Tamil powers ; (7) that there is no mention of the Maurya-era ; (8) that there is no allusion to the Nanda-era ; (9) that there is no reference as to the corpus of the Jain canon with its various divisions ; and lastly (10) that there is no such epithet of Khāravela as *Bhikhurāja*. On the other hand, I shall not be surprised if in the illegible portion of the twelfth year's record (I. 13), the name of Sātakaṇi recurs as one of the kings subdued by Khāravela in a second campaign undertaken by him.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says (JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 487) that he prepared, in 1917, two inked impressions of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. One of these two must be the impression reproduced in JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 472, Plate I. Mr. Jayaswal has, on the other hand, published a plate (JBORS, 1927, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV) reproducing photographs of select portions of two impressions, which are said to have been prepared by Mr. Madhosarup Vats. And I had the privilege of separately examining the two impressions, one of which resembled the impression reproduced in JBORS, 1917, and the other resembled the extracts from one of the impressions claimed to be of Mr. Vats and reproduced in JBORS, 1927. Although I failed to unravel the mystery which shroud these impressions, I was very happy to find that one of the impressions examined by me clearly showed my reading of *ceca-yāthi-adhasatikam* instead of *ca coyāthi agasatikam* (I. 15), to be quite correct. As for the reading (*silā*)-*thambhāni ca cetiyāni ca kārāpayati* (I. 14), I have largely relied upon a small plate published by Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS, 1918. As for the rest of the new readings and interpretations, grounds have been stated in proper places.

A plate prepared by patching up select portions of two impressions, such as one published by Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS, Dec., 1927, is bound to be misleading. The sounder procedure in a matter like this is to compare the results obtained from the study of both after carefully studying each of them separately. So far as published estampages go, one has still to place greater reliance upon one published previously by Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS, Vol. III.

I could not but congratulate myself to be able, when the printing of the book of notes was far in progress, to check the errors into which I was at first led by the symmetry of the reading of the text of the inscription of Khāravela's chief-queen *Hathisāhasa papotasa dhutunā* offered by Indrajī and

Banerji. There can be little doubt, as the original stone clearly proves, that the correct reading is no other than *Hathisā(i)ha-sāmpa(n)ātasa dhutunā*.

I cannot, however, claim that finality has been reached or can be reached. If the following pages serve to guide the study of the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions along the right path, I shall have sufficient reasons to rejoice.

But I deeply regret an omission on p. 46, namely, the rendering of *Arahato nisīdiya samīpe pabhāre* (I. 15), "on a slope in the vicinity of the Ārhata (cave)-dwellings." The "Additions and Corrections" will indicate where this is to be inserted.

My grateful thanks are due to Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, in urging me to prepare a critical edition of the old Brāhmī inscriptions, making it useful to the students and discussing the readings and interpretations of all previous scholars and epigraphists. Mr. Narain Chandra Kundu, Conseil Agrée, Chandernagore, has rendered me a distinct service by translating for me required passages from M. Sylvain Lévi's article in JA. Among my colleagues in the University, Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, Dr. N. P. Chakrabarty, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri have helped me with their valuable suggestions but for which my treatment of the subject would have been, in some places, far different from what it now is. I am indebted also to the Hon'ble Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. (now Prof.) R. D. Banerji, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, Prof. S. K. Ayengar, Dr. G. N. Banerji, Mr. Charu Chandra Roy, and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda for the keen interest taken by each of them in this work. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Stella Kramrisch for her note on the reliefs in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves without which the treatment of the question of chronology of the old Brāhmī inscriptions, their authors and receptacles would

have remained incomplete. Among the younger scholars, Mr. Prabodh Chandra Sen, M.A., Mr. Raman Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh, M.A., P.R.S., Mr. Sitis Chandra Basu, M.A., and Mr. Mrinal Kumar Ghosh, B.A., have assisted me in various ways, and but for their youthful zeal it is doubtful if I could have made a sustained effort. But I am in no way less indebted to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, the Assistant Registrar, Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Press Superintendent, and the Press Staff for their readiness to oblige me while this life-killing work was being seen through the press.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,
The 16th December, 1928.

B. M. BARUA

ALTERNATIVE READINGS AND RENDERINGS

[The asterisk mark indicates preference.]

- I. 1—*Airena** or *Vercna*.
 I. 1—*caturam̐ta*-(*raḥhaṇa*)* or *caturam̐ta*-(*luṭhana*).
 I. 3—*Asaka* or *Asika*.
 I. 4—*dam̐pa* or *dapa*.
 I. 5—(*ā*)*hatapura** or *Arakatapura*.
 I. 9—“*having stormed Gorathagiri (the hill-fortress)*”*
 or “*having killed Gorathagiri (the man)*” as a rendering
 of “*Goradhagirim̐ ghātāpayitā*.”
 I. 12—*anupa* or *janasa*.
 T(i)mira or *Tamira*.
 I. 14—*kāya-nisīdīyaṃ* (*rājupa*)*jivakehi** or *kāya-nisī* *īyāya*
 (*rāja*)-*bhatakehi*.
 rāja-putehi or *rāja-sutehi*.
 III.—*lirasa** or *Verasa*.
 III.—*Kadam̐pa** or *Kudepa*.
 IV.—*Vaḍukha** or *Varikha*,
 X.—“*The cave (which is an excavation) of the High Func-*
 tionary Nākiya of Bāriyā” or “*The cave (which is an*
 excavation) of Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya.”

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 10, Para. 2—Set in the marginal space the Svastika symbol, the symbol, No. 2, reproduced on p. 141.
- P. 29, Para. 16—Set at the end the Tree-symbol, the symbol, No. 4, reproduced on p. 141.
- P. 32, L. 8, Para. 9—Read “*परहतानं*” for “*निगंथानं*.”
- P. 33, L. 3, Para. 15—Read “*वेड़रिय*” for “*वेड़रिय*.”
- P. 46, L. 7, Para. 15—Insert after “*stone-pillars to be made*” —“on a slope in the vicinity of the Ārhata (Jain) cave-dwellings” as a rendering of *Arahata-nisīdīya-samīpe pabhāre*.
- P. 47, L. 5—Read “*invincible*” for “*undaunted*.”
- P. 47, L. 6—Read “*troops and transports*” for “*carriers of the realm of royal command*” omitting f. n. 4.
- P. 81, L. 3—Read “*koṭhā°*” for “*Koṭhā°*.”
- P. 93, L. 3—Set the Tree-symbol, the symbol No. 1, reproduced on p. 144, to the left of *Kaṃmasa*.
- P. 93, L. 3—Enclose the text between the symbols, Nos. 2 and 3, reproduced on p. 144.
- P. 155, Foot-note 1—Read “*Mālayehi*” for “*mālayehi*.”
- P. 161, L. 10, P. 171, L. 32—Read “*pasādānaṃ*” for “*pasādāyaṃ*”.
- P. 161, L. 11, P. 171, L. 33—Read “*Hathisā(i)ha-saṃpanātasa dhutunā*” for “*Hathisāhasa papotasa dhītunā*.”
- P. 211, L. 3, L. 5—Omit “*wrongly*” and reference to p. 300.
- P. 211, L. 6—Read “*from another passage in the same Nikāya (III, pp. 299-300)*” instead of “*from the Pāli passage*.”
- P. 211, L. 14—Add before the sentence—“*If Berar and Konkan were the principalities etc.*”:—“It cannot certainly be maintained that Prof. Bhandarkar has succeeded in establishing yet a decisive interpretation on the evidence of the first passage relied

upon by him (A. III, pp. 76, 78). He has sought to establish that the two words, *raṭṭhika* and *pettanika*, represent one item of enumeration in the statement, *yadi vā raṭṭhikassa pettanikassa*, in the same way as the three words, *rājā*, *khattiya* and *muddhābhisitta*, do in the immediately preceding statement, *yadi vā rañño khattiyassa muddhābhisittassa*. The falsity of analogy between the two sets of words is clear from the second passage (A. III, pp. 299-300) in which the distinction between the two has been brought out by embodying the series of the three words, *rājā*, *khattiyo*, and *muddhābhisitto*, in one paragraph, and the series of *raṭṭhiko*, *pettaniko*, *senāpatiko*, *gāma-gāmiko* and *pūga-gāmaṇika* in another. It is impossible to draw any other inference from the enumeration in the second paragraph than that *raṭṭhika*, *pettanika* and the rest are intended each to form a separate item. And Buddhaghosa, too, has precisely treated each of them as a separate item. The argument by analogy is weak because the association of two or more names or designations in a stock enumeration in Pali and Aśokan texts (*e.g.*, in R. E. V and R. E. XIII) is generally meant to balance up the expressions and, no less, to indicate the contiguity or similarity of places, persons or functions, denoted by them."

P. 219, L. 33—Read "*Nāṭya*" for "*Nātya*."

P. 225, F. n. 3—Read "*pabhatā*" for "*pabbatā*."

P. 267, L. 22—Read "*dūrādaya*^o" for "*dūrādasya*^o."

P. 292, L. 35—Read "*samuthāpitāhi*" for "*samthā*^o."

P. 293, L. 38, L. 40—Read "*suite*" for "*suit*."

P. 295, L. 31—Omit (*Choṭa-Hāthi-Gumphā*).

P. 293, L. 9-10—Read "*Pārana-Gumphā*" for "*Choṭa-Hāthi-Gumphā*."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- I. 12—Read *janasāda-bhavanam* for *anupa-dabha-vanam*, and translate it by “the demon’s habitat,” interpreting *janasāda* as the same word as the Pāli *purisa-sāda* or *porisāda* which literally means “a man-eater.”
- P. 210—Add : “*Vijādharaḍhivāsa* is evidently an expression similar to *Vijādhara-ṇagara-cāsa* (Jaina *Jambudvīpa-Prajñapti*, Ch. I), which means ‘the Vidyādhara capital (*rājadhānī*).’ The *Jambudvīpa-Prajñapti* alludes to 50 Vidyādhara cities in the south, situate on two sides of the Vaitāḍhya range, extended lengthwise, dividing South India from the Northern, and to 60 cities in the north, situate along the spurs of the Himalayan mountain. The cities are described as rich, secure, prosperous and delightful, where the inhabitants of the towns and districts lived happily. Their inhabitants who were human classes of Vidyādharas represented diverse physical types.”
- P. 267—Omit the opinion attributed to Prof. Chatterji and insert : “Prof. S. K. Chatterji inclines to think that *Khāravēla* is just an Aryanised spelling of a name of Dravidian origin, and that it may be taken to mean ‘he of the black lance,’ deriving it from the Dravidian *karu*, meaning ‘black’ and *vel*, meaning ‘a lance,’ which both occur in Tamil, and that the Kālīṅga people in spite of the early inscriptions in the Aryan languages seem to have been non-Aryan speakers down to a late period.”
- P. 312—Read L. 27, *if* for *a* ; L. 28, *is* for *in* and *in rows* for *rows*.
- P. 314—Read L. 8, *lmbs* for *imbs* ; L. 23, *female* for *Sāvite*.

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TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. I

**INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA
IN THE HĀTHIGUMPHĀ**

INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

The following inscription, noticed for the first time by Mr. Stirling, is engraved "on the overhanging brow of " the Hāthi-Gumphā, better the Badā-Hāthi-Gumphā, which is "a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art," and, therefore, "not important from an artistic and architectural point of view." "From the remains which can still be traced in its floor," Dr. Bhagawanlal Indrajī is led to think that "the cave had at one time been destroyed, whether by violence or neglect, and had afterwards been repaired and added to."

"The inscription is carved," says Dr. Indrajī, "on the rock which is not perpendicular but bends in. The inscription itself is in seventeen lines occupying a space about eighty-four feet square. The face of the rock does not appear to have been well smooth for the work, but the letters are large and deeply carved. Time and weather have wrought ravages. The first six lines are well preserved. The last four, partly so. The greater part of the intervening space has been much spoilt, portions of it being entirely weather-beaten, while in other portions single letters or groups of letters can still be made out. The left corner of the inscription, in especial, has been greatly injured, and the initial letters of eight lines in that direction are entirely lost."

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, who has made the reading, restoration and interpretation of the contents of this important epigraphic record his life's work, writing in 1917, says: "The rock was roughly dressed on the right-hand side. The chisel marks of the dressing are misleading; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters.....even hornets like to take liberty with the record of the Emperor Khāravēla with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it..... The inscription is weather-beaten. The first four lines are completely readable. The fifth line has about 13 syllables obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (L 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (L 7) have disappeared. From the 8th up to the 15th lines, every line has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and 17th lines are comparatively well-preserved except for the

loss of about 12 initial syllables. There are visible signs of a progressive decay."

The text is based upon the facsimile taken by Col. Mackenzie, and published by A. Stirling in 1825 without a transcript in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, in connection with his most valuable paper containing "*An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper—of Cuttack*"; Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep, in 1837, in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVIII, in his *Note on Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Cuttack in the Lāt (Aśokan) Character*; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript published, in 1880, with a few minor changes in his monumental work, the *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 16 foll.; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy prepared partly from Kittoe's facsimile and partly from a photograph of Locke's plaster cast in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and reproduced, in 1877, in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVIII; Bhagwanlal Indraji's eye-copy and *editio princeps*, published, in 1885, in *Actes du Sixieme International Congres des Orientalistes*, Part III, Sec. II, pp. 152-177, in his highly suggestive paper *The Hāthigumphā and Three other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves near Cuttack*; certain corrections proposed by Bühler, in 1895, in his *Indian Studies*, No. III, pp. 13 foll. and, in 1898, in his monograph—*Origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet*, pp. 13 foll.; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, published, in 1910, in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1345, containing a summary of the contents of the inscription; certain corrections proposed by J. F. Fleet, as to the 16th line, in his two short notes published in JRAS, 1910, pp. 242 foll. and 824; R. D. Banerji's inked impression prepared in 1917, and reproduced in JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, Pls. I, II and IV; a small plate published by K. P. Jayaswal in JBORS, 1918, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 364, representing the portion of L 12 and the end of L 15; R. D. Banerji's *Note on the Hāthi-Gumphā Inscription of Khāravela* in JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 486-505; K. P. Jayaswal's masterly edition of the *Hāthi-Gumphā Inscription*, published with a translation and critical notes in JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 425-485; K. P. Jayaswal's revised readings in JBORS, 1918, Vol. IV, Part IV, pp. 364-403; K. P. Jayaswal's corrections in JBORS, 1927, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, pp. 221-246; certain readings offered by Ramaprasad Chanda, in 1919, in No. 1 of *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, in his learned paper—*Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sāñchi*; certain readings suggested by R. C. Mazumdar in IA, 1919, p. 190; certain corrections

proposed by Sylvain Lévi as to the reading of L 11 in JA, 1925, pp. 57-62 ; certain corrections proposed by Sten Konow as to the reading and interpretation of the inscription in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, 1923, in his paper—*Some Problems raised by the Khāravēla Inscription* ; Locke's cast preserved, in a broken condition, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta ; the plaster cast prepared by H. Panday for the Patna Museum ; and, above all, the plate published by K. P. Jayaswal in JBORS, 1927, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, reproducing photographs of judiciously selected portions of two impressions prepared by Madhosarup Vats.

INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

TEXT

1. *Namo ar(i)haṃtānaṃ*¹ [:] *Namo sava-sidhānaṃ* [:] *

Airena² mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena^{2(a)} Ceta³-rāja-



vamsa⁴ -vadhanena pasatha-subha⁶- lakhanena
caturamṭa-(rakhaṇa)⁷- guṇa-upetena⁸ Kalimṅgā-
dhipatinā⁹ siri-Khāraavelena¹⁰ [1 1] paṃdarasa-
vasāni siri-kaḍāra¹¹ -sariravatā kiḍitā kumāra-

kiḍikā¹² [.] Tato lekha-rūpa¹³ -gaṇanā-vavahāra-¹⁴ -vidhi-
visāradena sava-vijāvadātena¹⁵ nava-vasāni¹⁶

yovarajaṃ¹⁷ va sāsitaṃ¹⁸ [.] Saṃpuṇa¹⁹-catu-
vīsati²⁰ -vaso²¹ (so) dān(i)²² - vadhamāna²³ -

sesayovanābhivijayo²⁴ tatiye²⁵ [1 2] Kalimṅga-
rājavamse²⁶ purisa-yuge mahārājābhisecanaṃ²⁷
pāpunāti²⁸ [.] †



* Cf. the Jaina formula of *ṇamokkāra* or *ṇokāra*, the Jaina form of invocation, met with on the first page of a Jaina book and quoted by Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Bhagawan Lal Indraji :—

Namo arihaṃtānaṃ || *Namo sidhānaṃ* ||
Namo āyariyānaṃ || *Namo uvajhāyānaṃ* ||
Namo loe savva-sāhūnaṃ ||

† Cf. Makhādeva-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 9) : *Atite Videha-rattthe Mithilūyaṃ Makhādevo nāma rājā ohosi dhammiko dhammarājā. So caturā-sīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīḷaṃ tathā opurajjaṃ tathā mahārājjaṃ katvā.*

Cf. Vikrama-Prabandha, verses quoted in the *Pottāvalis of the Digambaras*, edited and translated by Höernle in IA, Vol. XXI, p. 67 :—

Sattari cadusadajutto tiṇa kāle Vikkamohavai jammo |
Aṭha-varasa vāla-līlā soḍasa-vase hi bhammie dese ||
Rasapaṇa-vāsā rajjaṃ kuṇanti micchāvādesa saṃjutto |

1. Prinsep and others read *arahaṃtānaṃ*. In Banerji's impression there appears a vowel-mark, the *ā*-mark, which may be taken to stand for an *i*-sign, yielding the reading *arihaṃtānaṃ* which, in ardha-Māgadhī or Jaina Prakrit, is just a variant of *arahaṃtānaṃ*.

2. Prinsep, Mitra and Indrajī read *Verena*, Indrajī wrongly suggests that *Airena* is not to be found in Pāli or Prakrit. See Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1276—*Aira Utavipabhāhi*: No. 1280—*Cūla Ayira, Ayira Bhuta-rakkhita, Ayira-Budharakkhita*. See Fausbøll's *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 300: *Ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro*. See, also, the Old Oriyā Text quoted by Jayaswal, where one finds such expressions as "Ahiro nāma rājā," "Airo jitavān bhavet," "Airaḥ Utkalīśvaraḥ." Banerji reads *Kharena*, which is out of the question. The first letter is far from being *kha*. Cunningham, Lüders, Jayaswal and Sten Konow correctly read *Airena*.

2(a). Jayaswal finally reads *māhāmegha*.

3. Prinsep, Mitra, Cunningham, Lüders, Banerji and Jayaswal read *Ceta*. Ramaprasad Chanda justifies this reading by the evidence of the Vessantara-Jātaka (Fausbøll, Vol. VI, pp. 514-528), in which the kings of the Ceta royal family are said to have reigned in Kaliṅga. Sten Konow reads *Ceti*, which he thinks is absolutely certain. He says that both Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Thomas, who have examined the stone, agree to accept it. He maintains that the reading *Ceti* (= *Cedi*) is quite in keeping with the adjective *rājasi-vaṃsa-kula-vinisito* in L 17 whereby Khāravēla claimed to have descended from an ancient family of royal sages. Locke's cast shows, indeed, a deep cutting on the top of the letter *ta*, which one may take to be an *i*-mark. But on a closer examination it appears that this cutting is either due to the flowing of water or may be simply a slit in the rock. Jayaswal finally reads *Ceti*. I have always been tempted to suggest such a reading as [Ka]līṅga-rāja-vaṃsa-vadhanena on these three grounds: (1) That there is the faintest trace of a letter after *māhāmeghavāhanena*, which is no other than *ka*; (2) that the letter read as *ce* looks also like a damaged *li*; and (3) that the letter read as *ta* or *ti* is, strictly speaking *ga*, the upper vertical line standing on the left arm of the angle rather than on its apex, as it should be, had the letter been *ta*. The appearance of an upper vertical line with an *i*-mark may just be due to some mysterious erosion around the *anusvāra*-mark. See Plate in JBORS, 1927, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV.

4. Prinsep, Mitra and Cunningham wrongly read *kā* for *rā*.

5. Prinsep and Cunningham read *chadhanena*. Nothing is more likely than the mistaking of the Brāhmī letter *va* for *ca* or *cha*.

6. Prinsep and Cunningham read *suke*, which is meaningless.

7. Prinsep reads *caturamṭala-ṭhāna*; Cunningham, *caturamkala-ṭhāna*; Jayaswal, *caturamṭala-ṭhuna*, correcting his former reading *caturamṭala-ṭhuna*. I maintain that there is no such word as *caturamṭala*, the usual literary expression being *caturanta* or *cāturanto*, cf. the classical Pāli expression *cāturanto-vijitāvi*. The fifth letter is clearly *ra* or *lu*. The supposed *u*-mark appearing below *ṭha* is nothing but a lower extension of the letter *kha* or erosion on the inscribed surface of the rock, having no organic connection with the main letter. So I propose to read *rakhaṇa* or *luṭhaṇa*. Jayaswal finally reads *caturamṭaluṭhita*.

8. Prinsep fancifully reads *ganenakha te va*. Jayaswal reads *gunḍpahitena*, correcting his former reading *gunḍpagatena*, which accorded with the reading proposed by Cunningham and Indrajī. I accept Chanda's *guṇa-upetena*, which serves as an instance, where the two words of a compound are juxtaposed without being combined according

to the rule of the *Sandhi*. Jayaswal finally abandons the reading *-opahitena* in favour of *-opapitena*.

9. Prinsep reads *Kalaṃgadhapatira*, and Cunningham *Kaliṃgadhīpati cā*, both of which are incorrect.

10. Prinsep reads *sikhiravalonaṃ*, and Cunningham, *sikara-varabelena*.

11. Indrajī reads *kumāra*, which is evidently an oversight. Jayaswal in his revised reading, accepts Prinsep's *kaḍāra*, in preference to his former reading *kaḍārā*.

12. Indrajī reads *kīḍakā*. Cunningham omits *ḍa* through mistake.

13. Jayaswal's former reading was *rupa*.

14. Prinsep reads *vavapāra* and Cunningham, *vavepāra*. Jayaswal adopts *varahāra*, giving up his former reading *vevahāra*. Locke's cast has *ve*, and I see no harm in reading *vevahāra*.

15. Cunningham reads *tijāvadātena-i*, which is fantastic.

16. Prinsep reads *vasānā*, and Cunningham, *vasati*, both of which are incorrect.

17. Prinsep reads *hovaraja*; Cunningham, *yovaraja*; Indrajī, *hovarajaṃ*; Jayaswal, correctly *yovarajaṃ*.

18. Prinsep reads *paṃsāsiya(sa)*, separating *sa* from *Saṃpuṇa* following; Cunningham, *paṃsāsiyaṃ*. Indrajī and Jayaswal read *pasāsitaṃ*. But the first letter which is somewhat fissured seems to be *va* rather than *pa*.

19. Prinsep reads *puna*, separating it from *saṃ* preceding. Cunningham is the first to read *saṃpuṇa*.

20. Prinsep reads *cava-ṛisati*, also *visati*; Cunningham, *catuvimsati*. Jayaswal reads *catuvīsati*, correcting his former reading *catubisati*.

21. Prinsep reads *vase*; Cunningham, *vase(su)*. Indrajī correctly *vaso*.

22-23. Prinsep reads *dānavadhamena*, which is accepted by Cunningham and Indrajī. Jayaswal reads *tadāni-vadhamāna*, correcting his former reading *ti aana cu dhamena*. I am also inclined to read *samāna* for *tadāni*.

24. Indrajī reads *vijaya*. Jayaswal in his revised reading, accepts Prinsep's *yovenābhivijayo*, suggesting that the *e*-mark in *ve* is the result of an abrasion. Jayaswal finally reads *sesayo Venābhivijayo*, taking *Venābhivijayo* to mean "a conqueror like Vena, a Vedic personality."

25. Indrajī reads *vatiye*. Others read *tatiye*.

26. Indrajī reads *vaṃsa*; Jayaswal, *vaṃsa*, correcting *vaṃse*.

27. Jayaswal finally reads *māhā*.

28. Cunningham reads *pāpenāti*. Others read *pāpunāti*.

2. Abhisitamato¹ ca² padhame³ vase vāta-vihata-gopura⁴-
 pākāra-nivesanam paṭisaṃkhārayati Kalinga-nagari⁵ [,]
 gabhīra⁶-sītala⁷-taḍāga⁸-pāḍiyo⁹ ca baṃdhāpayati¹⁰ [,]
 savūyāna¹¹ paṭisaṃth[ā]panam¹² ca [13] kārayati
 panatisāhi¹³ sata-sahasehi [,]¹⁴ pakatiyo¹⁵ ca¹⁶
 raṃjayati¹⁷ [.]

1. Prinsep alone reads °mate. Others read °mato.

2. Prinsep reads *va* ; Cunningham, *cam* ; Indrajī, correctly *ca*, though *va* is more idiomatic.

3. Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrajī read *padhama*. Jayaswal correctly reads *padhame*.

4. Prinsep and Cunningham read *to pura*, which is incorrect.

5. Indrajī reads *nagarim* ; Jayaswal, *nagari*, correcting his former reading *nagaram*. Both Prinsep and Cunningham read *nagari*.

6. Prinsep reads *Khidira* ; Cunningham, *khimbīra* ; Indrajī, *khībira*, suggesting that the reading should be *khidhīram* ; Jayaswal, '*Khi-bīram*' correcting his former reading *khībira*. Jayaswal finally reads *Khībira*, taking it to be the name of a sage. Locke's cast helps us to account for the appearance of *ga* as *khi*. It shows that rain-water trickling down from or along the u-mark in *pu* of *saṃpuṇa* in L 2, has cut into the right arm of *ga*, lengthening it and making the whole letter look like *khi*. The second letter appears, at first sight, as *bī*.

7. Prinsep and Indrajī read *sītala*. Cunningham reads *isītāla* ; Jayaswal, *isītala*, correcting his former reading *sītala*.

8. Cunningham alone reads *taḍīya*. Others read *taḍāga*.

9. Prinsep alone reads *pariya*. Others read *pāḍiyo*. Jayaswal's former reading was *pāḍiyo*.

10. Prinsep reads *bathupayasi* or *bathapayasi* ; Cunningham, *thūpāpayati* ; Indrajī, *badhāpayati* ; Jayaswal, correctly *baṃdhāpayati*.

11. Prinsep reads *sava yāni* ; Cunningham, *savo yānam* ; Indrajī, *savūyāna* ; Jayaswal correctly, *savūyāna*.

12. Prinsep and Cunningham read *paṭisaṃthapanam* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal, *paṭisaṃthāpanam*. Jayaswal finally reads *paṭi*?

13. Prinsep fancifully reads *panatisirāsīhi* ; Cunningham *paṃnītāsīdhi*. Indrajī is the first to correctly read *panatisāhi*.

14. There is a large space between *sahasehi* and *pakatiyo*.

15. Prinsep reads *pakātiyo*. Cunningham and Indrajī read *pakatiye*. Jayaswal reads *pakatiyo*, correcting his former reading *pakātiyo*. Jayaswal finally reads *Pakatiya*.

16. Both Prinsep and Cunningham omit *ca*.

17. Cunningham reads *ījayata* ; Indrajī, *rajayati*. Prinsep and Jayaswal correctly read *raṃjayati*.

3. Dutīye¹ ca² vase³ acitayitā⁴ Sātakaṇiṃ⁵ pachima⁶-
disaṃ haya⁷-gaja⁸-nara-radha-bahulaṃ⁹ daṃḍaṃ¹⁰ pathāpayati¹¹
[,] Ka(limḡa)gatāya¹² ca¹³ senāya¹⁴ vitās[e]ti¹⁵ Asaka¹⁶-naga-
raṃ¹⁷[.]

1. Prinsep and Cunningham read *datiye*. Indrajī reads *ditiye*; Jayaswal, *dutiye*, correcting his former reading *ditiye*.

2. Jayaswal accepts the reading *ca* of Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrajī, in preference to his former reading *cu*.

3. Prinsep and Cunningham read *vāse*; others *case*.

4. Cunningham reads *acitayata*; Indrajī, *abhitayitā*. Prinsep is the first to correctly read *acitayitā*.

5. Prinsep reads *Satekāri* or *Sotekāri*; Cunningham, *Sotakāni*; Indrajī, *Sātakaṇi*; Jayaswal, *sātakaṇiṃ*, correcting his former reading *sātakaṇiṃ*.

6. Prinsep reads *pachimā*. Others read *pachima*.

7. Prinsep reads *haya* or *haye*; Cunningham, *ṛha*; Jayaswal, *haya*.

8. Cunningham alone reads *yejaṃ*; others read *gaḡa*.

9. Prinsep and Cunningham read *babhula*; Indrajī and Jayaswal, *bahulaṃ*.

10. Prinsep reads *darim* or *daṃḍi*; Cunningham, *naṃ te*; Indrajī, correctly *daṃḍaṃ*.

11. Prinsep reads *paṭhapayati*; Cunningham *paṭhapanati*; Indrajī, *paṭhāpayati*; Jayaswal, *pathāpayati*, correcting his former reading *paṭhāpayati*.

12. Prinsep reads *Kaṃsabandāgatāya*; Cunningham, *śabānāgatāya*; Indrajī, *Kuṣaṃbānaṃ khatiyam*; Jayaswal, *Kaṇḡhabenāṃ gatāya*, correcting his former reading *Kāsapānaṃ khatiyam*. Jayaswal finally reads *Kaṇḡhabenāṃ*. I maintain that the reading cannot but be *Kaṃḡāgatāya*. There are three holes between *ka* and *la*, and one or two holes between *la* and *ga*, which are, after all, responsible for the appearance of a letter like *ṇha*, and for the appearance of *gā* as *be*. I concede *Kaṃḡ(sarva)ndāgatāya* as an alternative reading.

13-14. Prinsep reads *ḡasanāya*; Cunningham, *ḡasenāya*; Indrajī, *ca sahāya*; Jayaswal, *ca senāya*, correcting his former reading *ca sahāye*.

15. Prinsep reads *vātānaṃ*; Cunningham, *vātānaṃta*; Indrajī, *(sahāya)atā patam*; Jayaswal, *vitāpati*, correcting his earlier reading *vitopati*. Jayaswal finally reads *vitāsitaṃ*.

16. Prinsep and Cunningham read *Saka*, ignoring the first letter. Indrajī reads *Masiḡa*. Jayaswal finally reads *M(u)siḡa*. That the first letter is *a*, and not *ma* or *mu*, is certain. I am unable to decide whether the name of the place is *Asaka* or it is *Asika*. Water has trickled down in a continuous stream from or along the left arm of *ti* of *bandhāpayati* in L 3 reaching as far as the top of *sa* of *Isala* or *Asika*.

17. Prinsep and Cunningham read *nagara*; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly, *nagaraṃ*.

4. Tatiye¹ puna vase [14] Gaṃdhava²-veda-budho
 dampa³-nata⁴-gita⁵-vādita-saṃdasanāhi usava-samāja-kārā-
 panāhi ca kiḍāpayati⁶ nagariṃ⁷ [.]

1. Prinsep reads *vāsino* ; Cunningham, *navāye* ; Indrajī, *tatiye ca* ; Jayaswal correctly, *tatiye*.
2. Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrajī read *Gaṃdhava*. Jayaswal reads at last *Gaṃdhava*, correcting his former reading *Gaṃdhavā*.
3. Prinsep and others read *dampa*.
4. All read *nata*.
5. Prinsep and Cunningham read *gita* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly, *gīta*.
6. Prinsep reads *kiḍāpayati* ; Cunningham, *kāḍāpayanti* ; Indrajī is the first to correctly read *kiḍāpayati*.
7. Prinsep reads *nāgari* ; Cunningham, *nagari* ; Indrajī *nagaraṃ* ; Jayaswal correctly, *nagariṃ*.

5. Tathā¹ cavuthe² vase³ Vijādhara⁴dhivāsaṃ⁴ A(raka)ta⁵-
 puram⁶ Kalīṅga⁷-puva-rājāna(m) (dha)m[e]na⁸ va nitinā
 va pasāsa(yati)⁹ savata dhamakūṭe(na)¹⁰ [,]bh(i)ta-tasite¹¹ ca
 nikhita¹²-chata-(15)-bhīṅgāre¹³ hita¹⁴-ratana¹⁵-sāpateye¹⁶ sava¹⁷-
 rāṭhika¹⁸-bhojake pāde¹⁹ vaṃdāpayati²⁰ [.]

1. Prinsep and Cunningham read *tatha*. Indrāji reads *itha*; Jayaswal, *tathā*, correcting his former reading *itha*.

2. Prinsep and Cunningham read *civuthe*; Sten Konow reads *civuthe*; Indrāji, *cavuthe*; Jayaswal, too, *cavuthe*, correcting his former reading *civuthe*. The appearance of *ca* as *ci* may be accounted for by the fact that rain-water trickling down from the space between *bahulaṃ* and *pachimaṃ* in L 4, has formed a canal reaching the top of *ca* below.

3. All read *vase*.

4. Prinsep reads °vāse; Cunningham, °vāsaṃ; Indrāji correctly, °vāsaṃ.

5. Prinsep reads *a(rā)hata*. Cunningham and others read *ahata*. In one of the impressions three letters are prominently brought out, the middle one as *ha*. It seems that the two letters, *ra* and *ka*, being somehow connected at the base, appear together as one letter, which is *ha*. Immediately after *Vijādhara⁴dhivāsaṃ*, anyhow somewhere in the sentence, we must expect to get the name of a place. But if the word coming immediately after *Vijādhara⁴dhivāsaṃ* be read as an adjective, as *ahata-puvaṃ*, we get no place-name to stand as the object of the verb *pasāsayati* following.

6. Prinsep reads *pure* or *puva*; Cunningham, *puva*. Indrāji and Jayaswal read *puvaṃ*. I think the supposed *va* is nothing but a fissured *ra*.

7. Prinsep reads *Kalīṅga* or *Kālaga*. Cunningham and others read *Kalīṅga*. Jayaswal finally reads *Kālīṅga*.

8. Prinsep reads *rājana e satu*; Cunningham, *rājān...*; Indrāji, *rāja-napaṃsitam*; Jayaswal, *rāja-nivesitam*, correcting his former reading *rāja-mamaṃsitam*.

9. The reading from *dhamena* to *nitinā* is tentative.

10. Prinsep reads °vata dhamatita; Cunningham, vata dhamatisapā; Indrāji, dhama-kuṭasa; Jayaswal, vitadha-makūṭe. The letter *na* looks, indeed, like *sa*. Jayaswal finally reads °makuṭa.

11. Prinsep reads (sa)rā...rite; Cunningham, doubtfully *taṭṭatite*; Indrāji, *pujita*; Jayaswal, (sa)bilāṇḍhite, correcting his former reading *sabichidite*.

12. Prinsep reads *nikhite*. Cunningham and Indrāji read *nikhita*. Jayaswal, too, reads *nikhita*, correcting his former reading *nikhite*.

13. Prinsep reads (a)bhīṅgāre(hi); Cunningham, *hīṅgāre(hi)*; Indrāji, *bhīṅgārehi*; Jayaswal, correctly *bhīṅgāre*.

14-15. Prinsep reads *taratana*; Cunningham, *taratanaṃ*; Indrāji, *tiratana(sa)*; Jayaswal, *hita-ratana*, correcting his former reading *hita-ratana(sā)*.

16. Prinsep reads *sapatena*; Cunningham, *sāpataye*; Indrāji, 'patayo; Jayaswal, *sāpateye*, correcting his former reading (ratana)sā pateye.

17. Prinsep and others read *sava*. Jayaswal, too, reads *sava*, correcting his former reading *sāva*.

18. Prinsep reads *raṭhika* or *raṭhike*. Cunningham and others read *raṭhika*.

19-20. Prinsep reads (bhojake) pā devaṃ dāpayati: Cunningham, *bhojakepā devaṃ dasayati*; Indrāji, too, *devaṃ dasayati*; Jayaswal correctly reads *vaṃdāpayati*.

6 Paṃcame¹ cēdāni² vase Naṃdarāja-tivasasata³-oghāṭi-
taṃ⁴ Tanasuliya⁵-vāṭā⁶ paṇāḍiṃ⁷ nagaraṃ⁸ pavesayati⁹ [''] sata-
(saha)sehi ca (khanā)pa(yati)¹⁰ [.]

1. Prinsep reads *paca* or *pacala*; Cunningham, *paṃcapaṃ*. Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *paṃcame*.

2. Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrajī read *dāni*. Jayaswal reads *dānī*. One cannot be sure about the second vertical stroke in front of *i*-mark of *ni*. It appears that rain-water trickling down from the letter *ca* of *dutiye ca* in L 4, has formed a canal, which has cut through the letter *kī* of *kīḍāpayati* in L 5, and flowed down as far as and parallel to the *i*-mark of *ni*. *Dānī* may be accepted as an alternative reading.

3. Prinsep and Cunningham read *tivasasata*; Indrajī and Jayaswal, *tivasasataṃ*. I find no dot-stroke denoting *ṃ* in front of *ta*.

4. Prinsep and Cunningham read *ughāṭitaṃ*; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly, *oghāṭitaṃ*. Ramaprasad Chanda rightly argues in favour of the reading *tivasasata-oghāṭi-taṃ*, instead of *tivasasataṃ oghāṭitaṃ*, when he points out (1) that there is no *anusvāra*-sign (*ṃ*) either above or beside the final *ta* of *tivasasata*, and (2) that the absence of a suffix after *tivasasata* is due to the fact that it forms part of a compound word *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭitaṃ*, an instance like *guṇa-upetena*, where the two words, *sata* and *ogha* are not combined according to the rule of the *Sandhi*. To these arguments of Chanda, I may add (1) that unless *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata* be treated as part of a compound word, it becomes unmeaning, and (2) that *Naṃdarāja-tivasasataṃ* has no meaning at all as a separate word in the present context. Sten Konow, too, reads *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭitaṃ*.

5. Prinsep reads *taṃnisaraliya* or *tanasaraliya*; Cunningham, *tanamsuliyam*; Indrajī *Tanasuliya*; Jayaswal correctly, *Tanasuliya*.

6. Prinsep reads *vaja*; Cunningham, *vāṭa*. Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *vāṭā*.

7. Prinsep and Cunningham omit *ṃ*.

8. Prinsep and Cunningham omit *ṃ*.

9. Prinsep reads *pavesa rise*; Cunningham, *pavesa viso*. Jayaswal reads the last letter as *ṭi*.

10. Jayaswal reads the concluding words as *so pi vase chadaṃ*, completing his former reading *so ? ... vi.*, and treats them as the opening words of the record of Khāravela's 6th regnal year. I think there can be little doubt about the correctness of the reading proposed above to complete the statement regarding the 5th year.

7. Abhisito ¹ ca [chadhe] ² vas[e] ³ (rāja-siriṃ) ⁴ saṃdaṃ-
sayamto ⁵ sava-kara-vaṇa ⁶-[16]-anugaha-anekāni ⁷ sata-saha-
sāni ⁸ visajati pora ⁹-jānapadaṃ [.]

1. Prinsep reads *sabhāsari* ; Cunningham *sabhisori* ; Jayaswal correctly, *abhisito*.

2. The gap containing space at least for three letters has altogether been lost sight of by Jayaswal.

3. The letter just beyond the gap appears to be *sa*.

4. Prinsep reads *pāsaca* ; Cunningham, *hāsa ca* ; Indrajī, *rājaseyaṃ* ; Jayaswal, *rājasuyaṃ*, correcting his former reading *rājaseya*. I maintain that the word is neither *rājaseyaṃ* nor *rājasuyaṃ* ; it is *rājasirīṇi*.

5. Prinsep reads *sadasa te* ; Cunningham, *saṃdasamto* ; Indrajī, *saṃdamśanato* ; Jayaswal, *saṃdamśayamto*, correcting his former reading *saṃdeṇśanato*.

6. Prinsep reads *pava karavana* ; Cunningham, *sa vakara vana* ; Indrajī, *save-karāvaṇaṃ*, which is accepted by R. D. Banerji ; Jayaswal, *sava-kara-vaṇaṃ*, correcting his former reading *sava-bharāvaṇa[m]*. I was inclined at first to read *savābharaṇāni*. But it is certain that the letter after *ra* is *va*.

7. Prinsep alone reads *anekani*. Others read *anekāni*.

8. Prinsep alone reads *sahasani*. Others read *sahasāni*.

9. Jayaswal alone reads *poraṃ*. Others read *pora*. I do not find any *anuvāra*-sign.

8. Satame¹ ca vas(e)² (a)si-chata³ -dhaja-ra(dha)-rakhi-
tu(ramga)⁴ -sata⁵ -ghaṭāni⁶ savata⁷ samḍasanam⁸ sava⁹ -(mam-
galāni)¹⁰ kārāpayati¹¹ [—]¹² sata-sahasehi [.]

1. Prinsep and others read *satamam*. But the *e*-mark attached to the final letter of *satame* is distinct.

2. Prinsep reads *tisam* ; Cunningham, *vesam*. I do not find the *anusvāra*-sign along with the second letter.

3. Prinsep and others read *Pasāsato*. It is certain that the first letter which is somewhat obscured by fissure is not *pa* : it is either *ma* or *a*, more likely the latter. The third letter is prominently *cha*.

4. Prinsep reads *vajaragharavedham* ; Cunningham, *vajarighavadhasatima* ; Jayaswal, *vajira-gharavi-Dhi(si)*, correcting his former reading *jara-ghara khata*. Jayaswal finally reads *Vajira-ghara-va[m]tigh[u]sitā*.

5. Prinsep reads *satam* ; Jayaswal, *(Dhi)si ti*. The appearance of *ra as si* may be due to fissure. To me, the reading *(Dhi)si* is meaningless.

6. Prinsep and Cunningham read *gharini*. Jayaswal reads *gharini*, correcting his former reading *gharinī*. None may doubt that the second letter is *ta*, and not *ri*.

7. Indrāji reads *savotu* ; Jayaswal, *samātu(ka)*, correcting his former reading *savitu*. Prinsep and Cunningham correctly read *savata*.

8. Prinsep reads *kahadapana* or *kahadapaṇṇa* ; Cunningham, *kahadapana* ; Indrāji, *kula* ; Jayaswal, *(mātu)ka-padapuna*, correcting his former reading *upādapumṇa*.

9. Prinsep and Cunningham read *nara(pa)*. Jayaswal reads *saku(mārā)*. Jayaswal finally reads [*ti* ?] [*kumāra*].

10. Cunningham reads *pa ketana*. Jayaswal reads the first letter as *ma*.

11. I have little doubt about the correctness of this reading.

12. ¹ The gap must have contained a word denoting a number.

9. Aṭhame¹ ca² vase ma(ha)ti-(se)nā(ya)³ A'a(dhu)ra[m]⁴
a(nupa)to⁵ Goradhagiriṃ⁶ [1 7] ghātāpayitā Rājagahānam
papīd[ā]payati⁷ [,] (e)tinam⁸ ca kamma-padāna⁹-panā-
dena-¹⁰sambhīta¹¹-senavāhane¹² vipamumcitum¹³ Madhuram¹⁴
apayāto¹⁵ yeva narido¹⁶ sa(va)¹⁷-[gha]ravās[i]nam ca [—]¹⁸
sava-gahapatikānam ca [—]¹⁹ sa [—]²⁰ pāna-bhojanam dadāti²¹
[,] [Kalim]gam (yā)ti²² palavabhāra²³-[1 8]-Kaparukha²⁴-haya-
gaja-(nara)²⁵-radha²⁶-saha yāti²⁷ [,] sava²⁸-gharavāsinam²⁹ ca
sava-rāja-bhatakānam³⁰ ca sava-gahapatikānam³¹ ca (sava)-
Bamhañānam³² ca pāna-bhojanam³³ dadāti [,] Arahātānam
(samañānam ca) [—]³⁴ dadāti [—] (sata-sahasehi)³⁵ [.]

1. Prinsep reads *thame*, omitting the first letter: Cunningham, *ye thame*. Indrāji and Jayaswal correctly read *aṭhame*.

2. Prinsep omits *ca*.

3. Prinsep reads *mananna-n*; Cunningham, *mananti mena-va*; Jayaswal, *mahati-senāya*, correcting his former reading *manatino dhamani*. Jayaswal finally reads *mahatā*.

4, 5. Cunningham reads *..tapabhate*; Jayaswal, *mahata-bhutti*, which is nowhere. The occurrence of such a conjoint consonant as *tti* in the orthography of Khāravēla's inscription is yet a discovery to be made. Mr. Jayaswal seems to have thought of such a reading under the influence of a latent bias that *Goradhagiri* was an impregnable hill-fortress guarding an entrance to *Rājagaha*.

6. Prinsep reads *ge vegiri*. Kittoe's facsimile has *gedaraqiri*. Cunningham reads *dare sari idha*; Jayaswal, *Goradhagiriṃ*, correcting his former reading *Goradhagiri*.

7. Prinsep reads *rājagabhaṃ* (or, *rājagambha*) *upapīḍapayati*, Cunningham, *rājagambhu upapīḍapayati*; Indrāji, *Rājagaha-nipam pīḍapayati*; Jayaswal, *Rājagaham upapīḍapayati*, correcting his former reading *Rājagaha napam pīḍapayati*. Sten Konow finds no objection to reading *nipa* instead of *upa*. I find that the horizontal base stroke of *na* is really in line with that of *pa* of *pīḍapayati*, and that it stands out, at least in Banerji's impression, as the horizontal base line of *na*. *Rājagahānam* in the sense of the people of *Rājagaha* is an expression of the same kind as *Māyadhānam* signifying the people of *Magadha*. This reading can well account for the use of (e)tinam following.

8. Prinsep and Cunningham read *ḍhatinam*; Indrāji reads *etinam*; Jayaswal, *etinā*, correcting his former reading *etinam*. One may read *etinā* but *etinam* gives a better grammatical construction of the sentence. Sten Konow, too, reads *etinā*. Jayaswal finally reads *etinam* or *etinā*.

9. Prinsep reads *kammupadāna*; Indrāji, *kamupadāna*; Jayaswal, *kamma'padāna* = (*kamma* + *apadāna*), correcting his former reading *kamupadāna*. Cunningham correctly reads *kamma-padāna*. Jayaswal finally reads *kammāpadāna*.

10. Prinsep reads *panādenu* or *panādenū*. Others read *panādenu*. Jayaswal finally reads *samnādenu*.

11. Prinsep reads *pambhāta*; Indrāji, *savata*; Jayaswal, *sambhāta*, correcting his former reading *sabata*. The second letter is undoubtedly *bhā*.

12. Prinsep reads *sena-rāhaya(tī)* or *sena-rāhanā(tī)*; Indrāji and Jayaswal correctly read *sena-rāhane*; Jayaswal finally reads *rāhano*.

13. Prinsep reads *ti pamucitu* or *ti pamumucita*; Cunningham, *pamacitu*; Indrāji, *vipamucitu*; Jayaswal, *vipamumcitum*, correcting his former reading *vipamumcitum*.

14. Prinsep, Cunningham and Indrāji read *Madhuraṃ*. Jayaswal reads *Madhurāṃ*, correcting his former reading *Madhuraṃ*. Sten Konow, too, reads *Madhuraṃ*. It is certain that the reading is *Madhuraṃ*, and not *Madhurā*.

15. Prinsep reads *aparato* or *apanato*; Cunningham, *apayato*; Indrāji and Jayaswal correctly read *apayāto*. Sten Konow reads *upayati*, which is doubtful. The o-mark attached to the final letter is very distinct.

16. Cunningham reads *navam ranā ba*; Indrāji, *navame ca vase*; Jayaswal, *yeva narido*, correcting his former reading *navame ca vase*. Here Sten Konow would read *Yavana-rājā* which is ingenious but uncertain. The fifth letter is distinctly *da* and not *ja*. Jayaswal finally reads *Yavana-rāja*.

17. Jayaswal reads *nāma*; Sten Konow, fancifully *Ḍima(ta)*. Jayaswal finally reads *Ḍimīṭa* or *Ḍimīṭi*. I cannot offer a better reading than *sava-gha*°.

18. The gap may perhaps be filled in by *rāja-bhatakānaṃ ca*.

19. The gap may be filled in by *Bamhaṇānaṃ ca Arāhatānaṃ*.

20. The gap may be filled in by *samaṇānaṃ ca*.

21. Prinsep and Cunningham read *mora dadāti*; Jayaswal reads *mo yacati*, correcting his former reading *mo. ya chati*.

22. These five letters appear to be above *palavabhāra*, with which the line closes. Jayaswal finally reads (*yachati-vi*) *palava*...

23. Cunningham reads *palavamake*; Indrāji, *patarako*; Jayaswal, *palavabhāre*, correcting his former reading *palavariko*.

24. Prinsep and Cunningham read *kapam ukha*; Indrāji reads *Kaparukho*; Jayaswal, *Kalparukhe*, correcting his former reading *Kaparukho*. Jayaswal finally reads *Kaparukhe*.

25. Prinsep traces three letters after *gaja*, which he doubtfully reads *raluve*. Cunningham suggests two letters. Indrāji and Jayaswal read *radha* immediately after *gaja*, which seems to be skipping over a fissured short space containing room for two letters, which I propose to read *nara*.

26. Prinsep reads *raluve*; Indrāji and Jayaswal correctly read *radha*.

27. Prinsep and Cunningham read *sahāya se*; Indrāji reads *saha-yata*; Jayaswal, *saha-yamte*, correcting his former reading *saha-yate*.

28. Prinsep and Cunningham read *saca*; Indrāji reads *savam*; Jayaswal, correctly *sava*.

29. Prinsep reads *gharā-vasapa*; Cunningham, *gharavasaya*; Indrāji, *gharāvasadham*; Jayaswal, *gharāvāsa-pa*, correcting his former reading *gharāvasadham*.

30. Cunningham reads *anatika-gava yasuvā*; Jayaswal, *sa-agiṇṭhiyā*, correcting his former reading *agiṇṭhiye*.

31. Prinsep reads *sahanam ca kā(ra)*; Cunningham, *gahanam ca kā(ra)*; Indrāji, (*yasavā*) *gahanam ca kā(ra)*; Jayaswal, *gahanam ca kā(ra)*.

32. Prinsep reads (*kāra*) *yitum ba imanānaṃ*; Cunningham (*kāra*) *yitum ba imanānaṃ*; Indrāji, (*kāra*) *yitum Bāmaṇam*; Jayaswal, (*kāra*) *yitum Bamhaṇānaṃ*.

33. Prinsep reads (*ja*) *tapa para*; Cunningham, (*ja*) *puha sara*; Indrāji (*ja*) *mhi radhi-sāram*; Jayaswal (*jāṭi-pamṭim parihāram*), correcting his former reading *jāṭharam bhi param*. Jayaswal finally reads *jāṭim parihāram*.

34. The gap may be filled in by *pāna-bhojanam*.

35. The record of the 8th year may be taken to close with an expression, which was preceded by another denoting a numerical adjective.

10. Na(vame)¹ ca vase² [19] veḍuriya³ -Kali[m]ga-⁴
rāja-nivāsaṃ⁵ Mahāvijaya-pāsādaṃ kārāyati⁶ aṭha-tisāya⁷ sata-
sahasehi⁸ [.]

1. Jayaswal reads only the first letter as *na*.

2. Jayaswal reads *giya*.

3. Prinsep reads *ra-i*; Cunningham, *venati*; Jayaswal, ^o*kei*, correcting his former reading *abhaya*.

4. Prinsep reads *mānati* or *manati*; Cunningham, *manati*; Jayaswal, *mānehi*, correcting his former reading *prācī-taṭe*. Jayaswal finally reads *māna[ti]*. The third letter, as it appears in Banerji's estampage, must be read as *ga*.

5. Prinsep reads *paṇḍarasa* or *raini rasa*; Cunningham, *paṇḍarasa*; Indraji, *nivāsaṃ*; Jayaswal, *saṃnivāsaṃ*, correcting his former reading *nivāsaṃ*, which was really correct.

6. Prinsep reads *kārāyati* or *derayati*. Others read *kārayati*.

7. Prinsep reads *ṭhatasaya*, omitting the initial letter; Cunningham, *aṭha hita du*; Indraji, *aṭha-tisa*; Jayaswal correctly, *aṭha-tisāya*.

8. Prinsep reads *sata sarelahi*; Cunningham, *(du)savasahasehi*. Indraji is the first to correctly read *sata-sahasehi*.

11. Dasame¹ ca² vase³ (Kaliṃga-rāja-vamśānam tati(ya)-y[u]ga-sagāvasāne (Ka)liṃga⁴ -pu(varājānam⁵ ya)sa-sakāraṃ⁶ kārāpayati⁷ sata-(sahasehi)⁸ [.]

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1. Prinsep and Cunningham read *dasāme* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly *dasame*.
 2. Prinsep omits it.
 3. Prinsep reads *case* ; Cunningham, *tuse* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *vase*.
 4. From *Kaliṃga* to *Kaliṃga* Prinsep reads *dava...rara gavasapa* ; Cunningham, *datibhisara... karathavasa p-na* ; Indrajī... *Bharadhavasa-paṭhāna* ; Jayaswal, *mahadhī-ta'bhisamayo Bharadhavasa-paṭhānaṃ*, correcting his former reading *daṇḍasa.....nadasa Bharadhavasa-paṭhāna*. Jayaswal finally reads *daṇḍa-saṃdhī-sāma-mayo*^o.
 5. Prinsep reads *pabayava* ; Cunningham, *mahajava* ; Jayaswal, *mahi-jayanaṃ*.
 6. The reading suggested is tentative.
 7. Cunningham reads *rācābīyati* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *kārāpayati*.
 8. Both Indrajī and Jayaswal take the sentence to close with *kārāpayati*, which seems incorrect.

12. (Ekā)dasame ca vase¹ [—]² -maṇi-ratanāni³-saha
yāti⁴ [,] [1 10] [—]⁵ (Kalim)ga⁶ -puvarāja⁷ -nivesita⁸-
Pithuḍaga-dabhaṃ Nagale nekāsayati⁹ [,] (a)nupa-dabha-
vanam¹⁰ ca terasa-vasa-sata-kataṃ bhidati¹¹ Timira-daha-
saṃghātaṃ¹² [.]

1. The opening words of the record of the 11th regnal year are not effaced. Even the first three letters, *e*, *kā* and *da*, can be read, though, to some extent, obscured by fissure.

2. Prinsep reads the letters to be made out in the gap as *raharunatanara*; Indrajī, *uyātānaṃ ca*; Jayaswal, *niritaya uyātānaṃ*, correcting his former reading ... *puna ca*. I shall not be astonished if the letters were meant to inscribe *Kaparukha-haya-gaja-nara-radha*.

3. Prinsep reads *manetānānā*; Cunningham, *soti yo ru-ni*; Indrajī, *manoradhāni*; Jayaswal, *maṇi-ratanāni*, correcting his former reading *manoradhāni*. Here I have tentatively accepted Jayaswal's reading. Jayaswal finally reads *manu*³.

4. For *saha yāti* Prinsep reads *upahi*; Cunningham, *upalebhāta*; Indrajī, *upalabhatā*; Jayaswal, *upalabhatā*, correcting his former reading *upalabhata*.

5. Indrajī points out that "the beginning piece of lines 11-17 is lost, and about ten letters are lost in each."

6. Jayaswal reads *maṇiḥ ca*. He finally reads *maṇiḍaṃ*. I maintain that the reading is no other than *Kalimga*.

7. Cunningham reads *pura rāja*; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *puvarāja*.

8. Cunningham reads *nivesātaṃ*; Indrajī and Jayaswal read *nivesitaṃ*.

9. Prinsep reads *pīthu ḍāga daṃbha nagare nakāsayaṭṭa*; Cunningham, *pīthuḍaga daṃbha nagalo nakāsayaṭṭa*; Indrajī, *pāthuḍaṃ Gadambha nagale nakāsayati*; Jayaswal, *Pithuḍaga-dalbha-nagale nekāsayati*, correcting his former reading *Pithuḍaga-dabha-nagale nekāsayati*. Sylvain Lévi and Sten Konow read *pīthuḍa[ṇi] gadabha-na[ṇi] ḡgalena kāsayati*. The reading kept in view by Lüders is *pīthudam gadabha-naṃgalena kāsayati* ("Pithuḍa, ploughed with an ass plough). Fleet takes *pāthuḍaga* to be = *pāṃthuḍḍaṃga*, "a market-town for the convenience of travellers." It is certain that there is no *anusvāra* along with *ḍa*. Jayaswal finally reads *pīthuḍa-gadabha-naṃgalena kāsayati*.

10. Prinsep reads *janapade bhāvana*; Cunningham, *janapada bhāvana*; Indrajī, Jayaswal, R. C. Mazumdar and Sten Konow read *janapada-bhāvanam*. The reading kept in view by Lüders is *Jinapāda-bhāvanam* ("the meditation on the feet of Jina"). Jayaswal finally reads *j(i)nasa daṃbhbāvanam*. Read *janasa*^o as a variant.

11. Prinsep reads *terasa vase satake...*; Cunningham, *terasa vase satake bhidasi*; Indrajī, *terasa vasa sata ka...da*; Jayaswal, *terasa-vasa-sata-Ketubhada(ti)*; R. C. Mazumdar, *terasa-Khasa-sataṃ katabhadata*; Sten Konow, *terasa-vasasata-kata bh[i]dati*. Jayaswal finally reads *satikaṃ tu bhidati*.

12. Prinsep reads *tatamara-dehasopāta*; Cunningham, *tāmaradehasopāta*; Indrajī, *tamara-dehasaṃghātaṃ*; Jayaswal, *titamara-dehasaṃghātaṃ*, correcting his former reading *titāmara*, etc.; Sten Konow, *t[ā]maradeh[ī]sa[ṇi]ghātaṃ*. Mazumdar reads *deha-saṃghātaṃ*.

13. Bārasame¹ ca² vase³ [—]⁴ sata·sahasehi⁵ vitā-
sayati⁶ Utarāpa(dha)⁷-rājāno⁸ [,] [l 11] [—]⁹
Māgadhānam¹⁰ ca vipulam¹¹ bhayam¹² janeto¹³ hathi-
sam Gamgāya¹⁴ pāyayati¹⁵ [,] Māgadham¹⁶ ca rājā-
nam¹⁷ Bahasatimitam¹⁸ pāde vaṃdāpayati¹⁹ [,] Namdarāja-
n(i)tam²⁰ Kāliṃga²¹-jināsanam²² (Aṃga-Magadhato Kalim-
gam āneti haya-gaja)²³-senavāhana-sahasehi²⁴ [,] Aṃga-
Magadha²⁵-vāsinam²⁶ ca²⁷ pāde²⁸ (vaṃdāpayati)²⁹ [,] [l 12]
[—]³⁰ vithi-catara-(pa)likhāni gopurāni³¹ siharāni³² nivesaya-
ti³³ [,] sata-Vāsukī (rata)nam p(e)sayam[ti]³⁴ [,] abhu-
tamachariyam³⁵ ca hathi(sa)-pasavam³⁶ pariharamti³⁷ [,]
(miga)-haya-hathi³⁸ u(p)anāmayamti³⁹ [,] Paṃḍa-rājā⁴⁰
vi(vidh)ābharaṇāni⁴¹ mutā-maṇi-ratanāni⁴² āharāpayati⁴³ idha
sata-sahasā[ni]⁴⁴ [,] [l 13] [—]⁴⁵—sino vasī k(ā)reti⁴⁶ [.]

Cf. Mahābhārata, II. 30. 27-29 :—

Sa sarvān mleccha-nṛpatin sāgarānūpavāsinaḥ |
Karamāharayāmāsa ratnāni vividhāni ca ||
Candanādgurn-vastrāṇi maṇi-mauktika-kambalam |
Kāñcanam rajatañcaiva vidrumaṇca mahādhanam ||
Te koṭisata-samkhyena Kaunteyam mahatā tadā |
Abhyavarṣan mahātmānam dhanavarṣeṇa Pāṇḍavam ||

Cf. Mahābhārata, II. 31. 71-72, 75-76 :—

Pāṇḍyāmśca Dravidām-ścaiva Sahitāmścōṇḍra-Keralaiḥ |
Andhāmstālavanūṃścaiva Kalingānuṣṭrakarṇikān ||
Ātaviṇca purīm ramyām Yavanānam puram tathā |
Dūtair eva vaṣe cakre karañcinānadāpayat ||
Tataḥ sampreṣayāmāsa ratnāni vividhāni ca |
Candanādguru-kāṣṭhāni divyānyābharaṇāni ca ||
Vāsāṃsi ca mahārḥāṇi maṇīmścaiva mahādhanān |
Nyavarttata tato dhīmān Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān ||

1. Prinsep reads *Barasama*, Cunningham, *Bārasama* ; Indrajī, *Bārasaman* ; Jayaswal correctly *Bārasame*.

2. Prinsep reads *va* ; Cunningham, *ḍa* ; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *ca*.

3. Indrajī reads *vasam* ; Jayaswal correctly *vase*.

4. The letters are so much effaced that it is impossible to attempt to make out what they are.

5. Here I have relied upon Banerji's impression reproduced in JBORS, 1917. For *sehi* of *sahasēhi* Cunningham reads *phahi*. Jayaswal finally reads *hasa-keja savasehi*.

6. Prinsep reads *vitisāyato*; Cunningham, *vitisiyitā*; Indraji, *vitisiyāṃto*; Jayaswal, *vitāsayati*, correcting his former reading *vitāsayaṃto*. Jayaswal finally reads *vitāsayato*.

7. Prinsep reads *Utiripthi*; Cunningham, *Utarapatha*. Indraji and Jayaswal read *Utarāpatha*, which I accept as an alternative reading.

8. Prinsep and others read *rājāno*. But there cannot be any serious objection to reading it as *rājānaṃ*, the singular Accusative form.

9. The beginning piece of L 12 is lost for ever. It is likely that such an expression as *Aṃgānaṃ ca* or simply *Aṃga*—preceded *Māgadhānaṃ*.

10. Prinsep reads *macalāva*; Cunningham, *madhānaṃ*; Indraji and Jayaswal read, perhaps correctly, *Magadhānaṃ*.

11. Prinsep reads *vipula*; Cunningham, *vipula(ya)*; Indraji and Jayaswal read *vipulaṃ*.

12. Prinsep reads *leyaṃ*. Cunningham is the first to correctly read *bhayaṃ*.

13. Prinsep and others read *janeto*. The *o*-mark seems to be quite clear.

14. Prinsep reads *hithasaṃ gaṃgasa*; Cunningham, *hathasaṃ Gaṃgāya*; Indraji, *hathisa Gaṃgāyaṃ*; Jayaswal, *hathisu Gaṃgāya*, correcting his former reading *hathisu Gaṃgāya*; Sten Konow, *Sugaṃgāya*, suggesting that *Sugaṃgā* or *Sugaṃgī* is certainly the ancient Maurya palace in Pāṭaliputra which is called *Sugaṃgā* in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Jayaswal finally reads *hathī Sugaṃgiya(ṃ)*. *Sugaṃgāya* does not suit the context of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravēla.

15. Prinsep reads *pānayati*. Cunningham and Indraji read *pāyayati*. Jayaswal, too, reads *pāyayati*, correcting his former reading *prāyayati*.

16. Prinsep reads *...dha*; Cunningham, *...ma*; Indraji, *Magadhaṃ*; Jayaswal, *Māgadhaṃ*, correcting his former reading *Magadhā*.

17. Prinsep reads *rājāna*. Cunningham is the first to correctly read *rājānaṃ*.

18. Prinsep reads *ibahaga sāsita*; Cunningham, *bahasati situ*; Indraji, *bahu patisāsita*; Jayaswal, *Bahasatimitaṃ*, correcting his former reading *Bahapatimitaṃ*.

19. Prinsep reads *va dāpayata*; Cunningham, *pā deva dāpaṇi yati*; Indraji *pāde vadāpayati*; Jayaswal *pāde vaṃdāpayati*.

20. Prinsep reads *rāja nita*; Cunningham, *Naṃdarājānita*; Indraji, *Naṃdarāja-nita*; Jayaswal, *Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ*, correcting his former reading *Naṃdarāja-nītāni*.

21. Prinsep reads *ra a ga*; Cunningham, *vāmaga*; Indraji, *sa aga*; Jayaswal, *Kālīnga*, correcting his former reading *ni Aga*.

22. Prinsep reads *jinaṣana*; Cunningham, *jīnaṣa*; Indraji, *Jīnaṣa*; Jayaswal, *Jīna-saṃnirvāsaṃ*, which has no meaning. Jayaswal finally reads *Jīnaṃ*.

23. The bracketted reading is tentative. For *āneti* Cunningham seems to read *ma ata*.

24. For *senavāhana-sahasēhi* Prinsep reads *malhana paṃḍu pakhusi*; Cunningham, *rota na suḍiḥa*; Indraji, *gaha ratana-parihārehi*; Jayaswal, *gaha-ratanāna-parihārehi*, which is an unintelligible jargon.

25. Prinsep reads *āe mugadha*; Cunningham, *maṛiga Magadha*; Indraji, *a Magadhe*; Jayaswal, *Aṃga-Māgadha*, correcting his former reading *Aṃga-Mugadha*.

26. Prinsep reads *cajara*; Cunningham, *vaṣasa*; Indraji, *vaṣivu*; Jayaswal, *vaṣuṃ ca*.

27-29. For *ca pāde vaṃdāpayati* Prinsep reads *naghari*; Indraji, *nayari*; Jayaswal, *neyati*.

30. The beginning piece of L 13 is lost.

31. Prinsep reads *tajalarala khila barāni*; Cunningham, *tu jīva rakkhilaḥ Bārāna-* (si); Indrāji, *viṣṭharaḥ lekḥilam barāni*; Jayaswal, *ta jathara-likhila-barāni*, correcting his former reading *ta jathara-lekḥilāni barāni*. Jayaswal finally reads *tum* for *ta*.

32. Prinsep reads *sihirani*; Cunningham, *si hiranā(ni)*; Indrāji, *siharāni*; Jayaswal, *sihirāni*, correcting his former reading *siharāni*. I accept Indrāji's reading.

33. Prinsep reads *nivaneyati*; Cunningham, *ni ca iyati*; Indrāji, *nivesayati*; Jayaswal, *nivesayati*, correcting his former reading *nivesayati*, which was really correct.

34. Prinsep reads *sata vasa sana parihārenam asum*; Cunningham, *sata vasadana thari hārenam asitam*; Indrāji, *sata-vasu-dāna-parihārena abhutam*; Jayaswal, *sata-visikanam parihārena abhutam*, correcting his former reading *sata-vasu-dāna*, etc. Jayaswal finally reads *vesikanam*.

35. Prinsep reads (m)*asariya*; Cunningham, (m)*asāriya*; Indrāji, (m)*akariyam*; Jayaswal, (m)*achariyam*.

36. Prinsep reads *hathi-navuna*; Cunningham, *hathi-naveno*; Indrāji, *hathī nādāna*; Jayaswal, *hathī-nāvana*.

37. Prinsep reads *paripara ara*; Cunningham, *parika*; Jayaswal, *paripuram upa*. Cunningham's reading is nearer the mark.

38. Prinsep reads *ranasa yahava*; Jayaswal, *deṇḥa haya-hathī*. Jayaswal finally reads *savadena* for *upadeṇḥa*.

39. Cunningham reads *...na-piva*; Jayaswal, *ratana-mānikam*, correcting his former reading *ratana-janāna*. *Ratana-mānikam* as an adjective of *Paṇḍarājā* may be Indian epigraphy but no Indian language.

40. Prinsep reads *Paḍarāja(no)*; Cunningham, *maha ri raji (ne)*; Jayaswal *Paṇḍarāja*.

41. Prinsep reads *dāvi aneka na*; Cunningham, *anekāni*; Jayaswal, *edāni anekāni*. Jayaswal finally reads *cedāni* for *edāni*.

42. Prinsep reads *dato manorata rana*; Cunningham, *dato mani ratanāni*, adding *muta* to his former reading.

43. Prinsep, Cunningham and Jayaswal read *aharāpayati*; Indrāji reads *āharāpayati*.

44. Prinsep reads *idha satasa*; Cunningham, *idha samte ribha*; Indrāji, *idham satasa*; Jayaswal, *idha satasa*. Jayaswal finally reads *sato* for *satasa*.

45. The beginning piece of L 13 is missing.

46. Prinsep reads *sinevasi kaḍati*; Cunningham, *si novasikariti*; Indrāji, *sino vasī-karoti*; Jayaswal, *sino vasī karoti*, correcting his former reading [vā] *sino vasī karoti*.

14. Terasame ca¹ vase supavatavijaya²-cake³ Kumārī-
pavate* Arahato⁴ parinivasato hi⁵ kāya⁶-nisidīyāya⁷ (rāja)-
bhatakehi⁸ rājabhātihi⁹ rāja-ñātihi¹⁰ rāja-p(u)tehi¹¹ rāja-
mahisihi¹² Khāravēla-sirinā satadasa-leṇa-satam¹⁴ kārā-
pitam¹⁵ [.] [1 14]

*Cf. Inscription of Udyotakeśarī in Lālatēndu-Keśarī's cave in Khaṇḍagiri edited by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, p. 166 :—*Śrī-Udyotakesari-vijaya-rājya-saṃvat 5 srī-Kumārāparvatata-sthāne jirnna vāpi jirnna īsana Udyotita* [.] *Tasmina thāne catur-viṃsati Tirthaṃkara sthāpita*.

1. Prinsep and Cunningham read *Terasama va*. Indrajī omits *ca*. Jayaswal correctly reads *Terasame ca*.

2. Prinsep and Cunningham read *vijaya*; Indrajī and Jayaswal, *viṇaya*. Jayaswal finally reads *vijayo*.

3. Prinsep and Indrajī read *cako*. Jayaswal correctly reads *cake*. Jayaswal finally reads *cuka*.

4. Prinsep reads *arahite*; Jayaswal, too, *arahite*, correcting his former reading *arahato*. Cunningham and Indrajī correctly read *arahato*.

5. Prinsep reads *paṇṇacisata pi*; Cunningham, *punavasata hi*, also, *parinavasanta*. Indrajī, *upanivāse vā*; Jayaswal, (yā)ṇa kh[ī]ma-vyasantaḥhi correcting his former reading *parin[ī]vāse tāhi*. Jayaswal finally reads *yapa-khīṇa-saṃsitehi*.

6. Prinsep reads *kaṃṇa*; Cunningham, *kaya*; Indrajī, *kāyaṇ*; Jayaswal, *kāyṇa*, correcting his former reading *kāya*, which was really correct. Jayaswal finally reads *kāya*.

7. Prinsep reads *nisidināya*; Cunningham, *nisidinaya*; Indrajī, *nisidīyāya*; Jayaswal, *nisidīyāya*, correcting his former reading *nisidīyāya*.

8. Prinsep reads *yāpūhakehi*; Cunningham, *yāpūakehi*; Indrajī, *yapūake*; Jayaswal, *yāpāñvakehi*, correcting his former reading *yāpūakehi*.

9. Prinsep reads *ra. atam*; Cunningham, *ra-luṭatini*; Jayaswal, *rāja-bhūtinī*, correcting his former reading *rāja-bhūtinī*.

10. Prinsep reads *cenam devani*; Cunningham, *cenam daveni*; Jayaswal, *cinatutini*.

11. Prinsep reads *sasasutani*; Cunningham *nase sitāni*, Jayaswal, *vasāsītāni*, correcting his former reading *vusa-satāni*. Jayaswal finally reads *vasāsītāni*.

12. Prinsep reads *ujana utasā*; Cunningham, *ujani kata urāsā*; Jayaswal, *pūjāni kata-urāsā*, correcting his former reading *pūjani sa ba ta*. Jayaswal finally reads *pūjāya-rata-urāsā*.

13. Prinsep reads *yarava ladirana*; Cunningham, *yeravaladirana*; Jayaswal correctly, *Khāravēla-sirinā*.

14. Prinsep reads *ṇi deta dakarārikhuti*; Cunningham *ṇiṇma-kupuri khuta*; Indrajī, *kāle*; Jayaswal, *śivadeva-siri-kalpani*. Jayaswal finally reads *jīva-deha-sirikā*.

15. Jayaswal takes the line to close with *rakhuta*. He finally reads *parirakhitā*.

15. [———] ?¹ sakata²-samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ³ ca sata-disānaṃ⁴ (ya)tināṃ⁵ tāpasa-(i)sināṃ⁶ leṇaṃ⁷ kārayati⁸ [,] Arahata⁹-nisīdiya¹⁰-samipe pabhāre¹¹ varākara¹²-samuthāpitāhi¹³ aneka-yojanābhita¹⁴ panatisāhi¹⁵-sata¹⁶-sahasāhi¹⁷ silāhi¹⁸ silā-thaṃbhāni¹⁹ ca cetiyāni²⁰ ca kārāpa(yati)²¹ [,] [1 15] [—]²² paṭalika²³-catara²⁴ ca²⁵ veḍuriya²⁶-gabhe²⁷ thaṃbhe²⁸ patiṭhāpayati²⁹ panatariya³⁰-sata-sahase(hi)³¹ [,] (veḍu)riya³²-nila³³-vochinnaṃ³⁴ ceca-yāthi³⁵-adhasatikāṃ³⁶ t(i)riyaṃ³⁷ upādayati³⁸[.]

1. The beginning piece of L 15 is missing. Jayaswal traces the remnant of a letter before *sakata* which he reads as *tā*. There is, indeed, such a remnant, but precisely of what letter I cannot say. One thing is certain that the sentence embodying the record of the 13th regnal year and running up to the end of L 14 is in Passive Voice, while the statement filling up L 15 and the first half of L 16 is in Active Voice. This cannot be consistently accounted for unless one assumes (1) that the record of the 13th year end in L 14, and (2) that the missing words in the beginning piece of L 15 constituted the introductory phrase, such as *Cūdasame ca vase*, indicating the particular regnal year to which the record in question refers.

2. Prinsep and Cunningham read *sakata*. Indrajī reads the last two letters as *kata*; Jayaswal, (*tā*)*su kataṃ*, correcting his former reading *sukata*, which was nearer the mark. Jayaswal finally reads *sukati*.

3. Prinsep reads *same rasavihitinaṃ*; Cunningham, *sameśa vihitenaṃ*; Indrajī, *samāyo suvihitānaṃ*; Jayaswal, *samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ*, correcting his former reading *samana-suvihitānaṃ*.

4. Prinsep reads *suta disānaṃ*, Cunningham, *suta dāsinaṃ*; Indrajī *sava-disānaṃ*; Jayaswal correctly, *sata-disānaṃ*.

5. Prinsep reads *jñāta*; Cunningham, *tanāpesi*; Indrajī, *yāninaṃ*; Jayaswal, *ñātānaṃ*, correcting his former reading *khatiyaṃ*. I accept Jayaswal's as an alternative reading. Jayaswal finally reads *ñāninaṃ*.

6. Prinsep reads *yevai-saṃpa*; Cunningham, *mapusa isa pu*; Indrajī, *tāpasānaṃ saṃha*; Jayaswal, *tāpasa-isinaṃ saṃghā*.^o

7. Prinsep and Cunningham read *panaṃ*; Indrajī reads *°tānaṃ*; Jayaswal, *°yanaṃ*. Jayaswal finally reads *tapasi-saṃghiyanaṃ*.

8. Prinsep and others have missed *kārāpayati*.

9. Prinsep reads *arahasa*; Cunningham, *cahasa*; Indrajī is the first to correctly read *arahata*.

10. Prinsep reads *nisīdiyā*; Cunningham, *nisidaya*; Indrajī, *nisidiya*; Jayaswal *nisīdiyā*.

11. Prinsep and Cunningham read *subhāre*; Indrajī and Jayaswal, *pabhāre*.

12. Prinsep reads *rasāra*; Cunningham, *va. bha*; Indrajī, *varākāru*; Jayaswal correctly, *varākara*.

13. Prinsep reads *samathaghisipa*; Cunningham, *sa matha ghisipā*; Indrajī, *samatha-thapatihi*; Jayaswal, *samuthāpitāhi*.

14. Prinsep reads *anakyā janahi pihi*; Cunningham, *anake yojanā pitā ghi*; Indrajī, *aneka-yojanāhi*; Jayaswal correctly, *aneka-yojanāhitāhi*.

15. Prinsep reads the five letters of which there are traces as *pa . . ra*; Cunningham, as *pa . . pipe*. Indrajī and Jayaswal wisely leave a blank space. Jayaswal finally reads *pa. sio*.

16, 17. There can hardly be any doubt about the given reading.

18. Prinsep reads *silaha*; Jayaswal, *silāhi*, correcting his former reading *silahi*.

19, 20, 21. Prinsep reads *sapapatha dhara si dhasayani nāni*; Cunningham, *bhagapatha... dhadayana*; Jayaswal, *Sm̐hapatha-Rāñiya Dhusiya nsayāni*, correcting his former reading *sapapatha...* Jayaswal finally reads *rāni Sidhuḍāya*.

22. The beginning piece of L 16 is missing.

23. Prinsep reads *paṭalake*; Jayaswal, *paṭaliko*. Cunningham and Indrajī read *paṭālake*. Jayaswal finally reads *ghaṇṭālako*.

24. Prinsep reads *catapa*; Cunningham, *catara*; Indrajī, *Cetake*; Jayaswal correctly, *catare*.

25. Prinsep and Cunningham read *ce*; others, *ca*.

26. Prinsep reads *veruriya*; Cunningham, *teghariya*. Indrajī is the first to correctly read *veḍuriya*.

27. Prinsep and Cunningham read *gabha*, Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly, *gabhe*.

28. Prinsep and Indrajī read *thabhe*; Cunningham and Jayaswal, *thaṃbhe*.

29. Prinsep reads *patipa-yatī*; Cunningham, *patiṭhapayati*. Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *patiṭhāpayati*.

30. Prinsep reads *panatanusa*; Cunningham and Indrajī read *paṇnatariya*. Jayaswal reads *panatariya*, correcting his former reading *panaṇatariya*. In Sten Konow's opinion *panatariya* is the correct reading.

31. Prinsep reads *saca . . raja*; Cunningham, *sa ca vasa*; Indrajī, *saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja*; Sten Konow, *sacasahite*, partly accepting and partly modifying Fleet's reading *paṇnatariya sacasata*; Jayaswal, *sata-sahasehi*, correcting his former reading *saṭhi-vasa-sata Rāja*. Jayaswal has, I believe, placed the reading beyond all dispute.

32. Prinsep reads *—riya*; Cunningham, *...ya*; Indrajī, *Muriya*; Jayaswal, too, *Muriya*. Banerji also offers the reading *Muriya*. Sten Konow thinks that the reading *Muriya* is certain. Where is the certainty of such a reading? None need be misled by Banerji's impression. Locke's plaster cast shows that the stone has been peeled off just where some letter was engraved, presenting a socket, which is apt to delude the eye with the appearance of a *ma* or *mu*, or to come out in an estampage as a *ma* or *mu*. His cast also shows that there is a short space after *śahasehī*, just enough for engraving one letter. I have carefully examined this space where I find the faint trace of a letter, which is no other than *re*. The same has also been made out from one of the two impressions within my access. See Pl. I in JBORS, 1927, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV. The letter lost or obscured in the socket is found to be, both in Locke's cast, rather *ṛu* than *ma* or *mu*.

33. Prinsep reads *la*; Cunningham, *kala*, Indrajī, *kāle*; Fleet, too, *kāle*, Jayaswal, *kalam*, correcting his former reading *kale* or *kāle*. I doubt very much if the first letter can be read as *ka* or *kā*. I say it is not at all *ka* or *kā*. Locke's cast clearly shows how

rain-water trickling down along the vertical line of *na* of *ni* and flowing to some distance along the right hand side of its horizontal base line, flows down at last cutting deep into the rock and serving to transform the *na* into a *ka*-shaped hobgoblin. I shall be the last man to mistake this apparition for *kā* in which two vertical strokes of equal length go to meet the horizontal base line from two sides at two distant points.

34. Prinsep reads *machinam* ; Cunningham, *ce cinam* ; Indrajī, *vochine* : Jayaswal, *vochinne* or *vochinnam*, correcting his former reading *vocchine*.

35. Prinsep reads *ca coyatha* ; Cunningham, *cace yaṭha* ; Indrajī, *ca coyatha* ; Jayaswal, *ca cayathi*, correcting his former reading *ca-cheyathi*. The first letter, as it appears in Locke's cast or in Banerji's impressions, in either *ce* or *la*, and the second letter, ignoring the vowel mark, is *ca* or *ta*. One may correctly read the four letters together as *ceca-yathi* or *latā-yathi*.

36. Prinsep reads *agi satī ka* : Cunningham, *agesati ka* ; Indrajī, *agesati ku* ; Jayaswal, *agasatikam*, correcting his former reading *Argasi ti kam*. Sten Konow, *A(ṃ)gasatikam-tariyam* Jayaswal finally accepts Sten Konow's reading. I frankly confess that it is very difficult to resist the temptation of the reading of the second letter as *ga*. It is only after a prolonged examination that one will be inclined to read it as *dha*. I can press these three arguments in favour of reading it as *dha* : (1) that it is so unlike other forms of *ga* in the Hāthi-Gumpha inscription ; (2) that Locke's cast also shows the *dha*, and (3) that in one of Vats' impressions it stands out almost as a *dha*.

37. Prinsep and Cunningham read *ka tariyam*, which is quite possible. Indrajī reads *ku tariyam* ; Jayaswal, *amtariyam*, correcting his former reading *kam tariyam*. Sten Konow accepts Jayaswal's reading *sutikamtariyam*. Jayaswal finally reads *turiyam*. I find no difficulty in reading *tiriyam*.

38. Prinsep reads *napadayati* ; Cunningham, *napadachati* ; Indrajī, *capadayati*, Jayaswal, *upādāyati*, correcting his former reading *upādiyati*. Sten Konow correctly reads *upādāyati*. I am tempted to read the concluding words of the record of the 14th year also as *cetiya-thambhagasatam katariyam upādāyati*.

16. Khema¹-rājā sa [,] Vadha²-rājā sa [,] (Imḍa)³-rājā⁴ sa⁵ [,] Dhama⁶-rājā * pasamto⁷ sunamto⁸ anubhavamto⁹, kalāṇāni¹⁰ [l 16] [—]¹¹ guṇa¹²-visesa¹³-kusalo savapāsamḍa-pūjako¹⁴ sava-devāyatana¹⁵-samkāra¹⁶-kāra¹⁷ apatihata¹⁸ caka¹⁹-vāhana²⁰-balo²¹ caka-dhar(o)²² guta-cako²³ pavata²⁴ cako rāj(i)si²⁵-vaṃsa²⁶-kula²⁷-vini(s)ito²⁸ mahāvijayo²⁹ rājā Khāravēla³⁰-siri³¹ [,] [l 17].

* Cf. Manu-Saṃhitā, VII. 7 :

So'gnir bhavati Vāyuś ca so'rkaḥ Somaḥ sa Dharmarāt
Sa Kuveraḥ sa Varuṇaḥ sa Mahendraḥ prabhāvataḥ ॥

1. Prinsep and Cunningham read *agama*. Indrajī is the first to read *Khema*.
2. Prinsep and Cunningham read *patha*. Indrajī reads *vadha*; Jayaswal, *Vaḍha*, correcting his former reading *vadha*.
3. Prinsep reads *rese*; Cunningham, *bhi* ? Indrajī and Jayaswal read *bhukhu*. The portion of the rock where the two letters were engraved has been peeled off presenting a socket, which deludes the eye with the appearance of two letters resembling *bhukhu*. I find that *bhukhu* is but an apparition of *Imḍa*.
4. Prinsep reads *raja*; Cunningham, *-ja*. Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *rājā*.
5. All have missed *sa*.
6. Prinsep reads *ma*. Cunningham and Indrajī read *nāma*. Jayaswal correctly reads *dhama*.
7. Prinsep and Cunningham read *pasata*. Indrajī is the first to correctly read *pasamto*.
8. Prinsep reads *saṭite*; Cunningham, *sanamto*; Indrajī, *sanato*; Jayaswal, *sunamto*, correcting his former reading *suṇato*.
9. Prinsep reads *apadhajula*; Cunningham, *anubhavato*; Indrajī, *anubhavato*; Jayaswal, *anubhavamto*, correcting his former reading *anubhavato*.
10. Prinsep reads *-laṇoni*; Cunningham, *-rānāni*; Indrajī is the first to correctly read *kalāṇāni*.
11. The beginning piece of L 17 is missing.
12. Prinsep reads *virono*; Cunningham, *rutapano*; Indrajī is the first to read *guṇa*.
13. Prinsep and Cunningham read *rise*, omitting *sa*; Indrajī and Jayaswal, correctly *visesa*.
14. Prinsep reads *su i-pāsanyā-pūjano*; Cunningham, *sava-pathabhi-pujako*; Indrajī is the first to read *sava-pāsamḍa-pūjako*.
15. Indrajī reads *..tana*; Jayaswal, *devāyatana*, correcting his former reading *..tina*.
16. Prinsep reads *..kara*; Cunningham, *mukara*. Indrajī and Jayaswal read *samkāra*. The second letter might also be treated as a broken *kha*.
17. Prinsep and Cunningham read *kira*; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly, *kāra*.

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18. Prinsep reads *ravato*; Cunningham, *.padahata*; Indrajī and Jayaswal correctly read *apatihata*.
 19. Prinsep reads *laki*; Cunningham, *cako*; Indrajī, *caki*; Jayaswal, *cakī*.
 20. Prinsep and Cunningham read *vāhani*. Jayaswal, too, reads *vāhani*, correcting his former reading *vāhana*. Indrajī correctly reads *vāhana*.
 21. Prinsep reads *bāle*; Cunningham, *ṭhalo*. Indrajī is the first to read *balō*.
 22. Prinsep reads *vākadhara*; Cunningham, *cako dhara*; Jayaswal, *caka-dhuro* correcting his former reading *cakadharo*. Indrajī correctly reads *cakadharo*.
 23. Prinsep alone reads *gata cano*. Others read *guta-cako*.
 24. Prinsep reads *ghavata*; Indrajī, *pasamta*; Cunningham, *pavata*; Jayaswal, too, *pavata*, correcting his former reading *ghisamta*.
 25. Prinsep reads *rājāsa*; Cunningham, *rājasa*. Indrajī and Jayaswal read *rājisi*.
 26. Cunningham and Indrajī read *vaṃsa*. Jayaswal reads *vasa*.
 27. Prinsep reads *kala*. Cunningham is the first to read *kula*.
 28. Prinsep reads *vināravato*; Cunningham, *vinigato*; Indrajī, *vinicchito*; Jayaswal, *vinīrito*, correcting his former reading *vinicchito*.
 29. Prinsep reads *mahāvijaye*; Cunningham, *mahavijayo*. Indrajī and Jayaswal read *mahāvijayo*.
 30. Prinsep reads *khāravēla*; Cunningham, *kharavēla*. Indrajī is the first to read *Khāravēla* as a name.
 31. Prinsep reads *saṃḍara*; Cunningham, *sirino*. Indrajī is the first to read *siri*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

१। नमो अरहंतानं [॥] नमो सव-सिधानं [॥] ऐरेन वेरेन इति वा
महाराजेन महामेघ-बाहनेन चैतराजवंसवधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन चतुरंत-
रखण-गुण-उपेतेन कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेल्लेन पंदरस-वसानि सिरि-
कङ्गार-सरोरवता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका [।] ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-
ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सवविजावदातेन नव-वसानि योवरजं व सासितं [।]
संपुञ्च-चतुर्वी सति वसो सोदानि-वधमान-सेसयोवनाऽभिजयो ततिये कलिंग-
राजवंसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पापुनाति [।]

२। अभिसितमतो च पधमे वसे वात-विहृत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटि-
संखारयति कलिंग-नगरि [.] गभोर-सोतल-तङ्गाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति [.]
सवूयान-पटिसंठापनं च कारयति पनतीसाहि सत-सहसेहि [.] पकतियो च
रंजयति [।]

३। दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकणिं पक्खिम-दिसं हय-गज-
नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [.] कलिंगागताय च सेनाय वितासेति असक-
नगरं (असिक-नगरमिति वा) [।]

४। ततिये पुन वसे गंधव-वेद-बुधो दंप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि
उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति नगरिं [।]

५। तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधवासं अरकतपुरं कलिंग-पुव-राजानं धमेन
व नितिना व पसासयति सवत धमकूटेन [.] भीत-तसिते च निखित-कृत-
भिंगारे हित-रतन-सापतये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति [।]

६। पंचमे च दानि वसे नंदराज-तिवससत-ओघाटितं तनसुलियवाटा
पनाडिं नमरं पवेसयति [.] सत-सहसेहि च खनापयति [।]

७। अभिसितो च [कटे व]से राज-सिरिं संदंसयंतो सव-कर-वण-
अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-ज्ञानपदं [।]

८। सतमे च वसे असि-कृत-धज-रध-रखि-तुरंग-सत-घटानि सवत
संदंसनं सव-मंगलानि कारयति[—] सत-सहसेहि [।]

८। अठमे च वसे महति-सेनाय मधुरं अनुपतो गोरधगिरिं घातापयिता राजगह्वानं पपौड[१]पयति[,] एतिनं च कंस-पदान-पनादेन-संभौत-सेन-वाहने-विपमुंचितुं मधुरं अपयातो येव नरिदो सव-[च]रवासिनं च सव-[—] गहपतिनं च [—] स [—] पान-भोजनं ददाति [,] [कलिं]गं याति [,] पल्लवभार-कपर्ण-हय-गज-नर-रध-सह याति [,] सव-घरवासिनं च सव-राज-भक्तानं च सव-गहपतिकानं च सव-बम्हणानं च पान-भोजनं ददाति [,] निगंधानं समणानं च [—] ददाति [—] सत-सहसेहि [१]

१०। नवमे च वसे वेडुरिय-कलि[']ग-राज-निवासं महाविजय-पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि [१]

११। दसमे च वसे कलिंग-राजवंसानं ततिय-युग-सगावसाने कलिंग-पुव-राजानं यस-सकारं कारापयति सत-सहसेहि [१]

१२। एकादसमे च वसे [—]-मणि-रतनानि सह याति [,] [—] कलिंग-पुवराज-निवेसित-पिथुडग-दभं नगले नेकासयति [,] अनुपदभ-वनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं भिदति तिमिरदह-संघातं [१]

१३। बारसमे च वसे [...] सत-सहसेहि वितासयति उतरापध-राजानो[,] [—]मागधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथीसं गंगाय पाययति[,] माग-धानं च राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति[,] नंदराज-नीतं कालिङ्ग-जिनासनं अंग-मगधतो कलिङ्गं आनेति हय-गज-सेनवाहन-सहसेहि [,] अंग-मगध-वासिनं च पादे वंदापयति [,] [—] वौथि-चतर-पलिखानि गोपुरानि सिहरानि निवेसयति [,] सत वासुको रतनं पेसयति [,] अभूतमक्यियं हथीस-पसवं परिहरंति [,] मिग-हय-हथो उपनामयति [,] पंडुराजा विविधाभरणानि सुता-मणि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत-सहसानि [,] [—]-सिनो वसो कारेति [१]

१४। तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारी-पवते अरहतो परि निवसतो हि कायनिसीदीयाय राजभक्तकेहि राज-भातिहि राज-आतिहि राज-पुतेहि राज-महिसिहि खारवेल-सिरिना सतदस-लेण-सतं कारापितं [१]

१५। [—] ? सकत-समण-सुविहितानं च सत-दिसानं यतिनं तापस-इसिनं लेणं कारयति [,] अरहत-निसीदीय-समोपे पभारे वराकर-समुथापिताहि अनेक-योजनाहिताहि पनतीसाहि-सत-सहसाहि सिलाहि सिल-यंभानि च

चेतियानि च कारापयति [,] [—] पटलिक-चतरे च वेड़ रिय-गमे थंमे पति-
ठापयति पनतरिय-सत-सहसेहि [,] [वे]ड़ रिय-नील-वोक्किन् चेच-यठि-अध-
सतिकं तिरियं उपादयति [।]

१६। खेमराजा स [,] वध-राजा स [,] इंद-राजा स [,] धम-राजा
पसंतो सुनंतो अनुभवंतो कलाणानि [—] गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको
सव-देवायतन-संकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहन-बलो चकधरो गुत-चको
पवत-चको राजिसि-वंस-कुल-विनिस्तो महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि (।)

१। नमो अरहन्तानं [॥] नमो सब्ब-सिद्धानं [॥] अयिरेन (वीरेण इति वा) महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चेतराजवंस-वधनेन पसत्थ-सुभलक्खणेन चतुरन्तरक्खणगुणोपेतेन कलिङ्गाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेल्लेन पन्नरस-वस्सानि सिरि-कलार-सरोरवता कीलिता कुमार-कीलिका [।] ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-वोच्चार-विधि-विसारदेन सब्बविज्जोदातेन नव-वस्सानि योवरज्जं व सासितं [।] संपुष्प-चतुवोसति-वस्सो सो दानि-वद्धमान-सेसयोब्बनाभिविजयो ततिये कलिङ्गराजवंसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पाप्पणाति [।]

२। अभिसित्त-मत्तो च पठमे वस्से वात-विद्धत-गोपुर-पाकार-निविसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिङ्ग-नगरे [.] गभोर-सौतल-तलाक-पाल्लियो च बन्धापयति [.] सब्बुय्यान-पतिसण्हापनं च कारयति पञ्चतिंसेहि सत-सहस्सेहि [.] पकतियो च रज्जयति [।]

३। दुतिये च वस्से अचिन्तयित्वा सातकस्सिं पच्छिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं पट्टापयति [.] कलिङ्गागताय च सेनाय वित्तासेति अस्सक-नगरं^१ (इसिक-नगर-मिति वा) [।]

४। ततिये पुन वस्से गम्बब्ब-वेद-बुधो दप्प-नच्च-गोत-वादित-सन्दस्सनाहि उल्लव-समज्जा-कारापनाहि च कोलापयति नगरिं [।]

५। तथा चतुत्ये वस्से विज्जाधराधिवासं अरकतपुरं कलिङ्ग-पुब्बराजानं धम्मेन व नौतिना व पसासयति सब्बेत्थ धम्मकूटेन [.] भीत-तसिते च निक्खित्त-कत्त-भिङ्गारे हित-रतन-सापतेये सव-रट्टिक-भोजके पादे बन्धापयति [।]

६। पञ्चमे चेदानि वस्से नन्दराज-तिवस्ससतोग्घाटितं तनसुलिय-वट्ठा पणालिं नगरं पवेसयति [.] सत-सहस्सेहि च खनापयति [।]

७। अभिसित्तो च [कट्ठे व]स्से राजसिरिं सन्दस्सयन्तो सब्ब-कर-पण-अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहस्सानि विसज्जति पोर-जानपदं [।]

८। सत्तमे च वस्से असि-कत्त-धज-रथ-रक्खि-तुरङ्ग-सत-घटानि सब्बेत्थ सन्दस्सनं सब्ब-मङ्गलानि कारापयति [—] सत-सहस्सेहि [।]

1. पाठान्तरे—कषपेष्वागताय.....सुसिक-नगरं ।

८ । अष्टमे च वस्से महतिथा सेनाय मधुरमनुपत्तो गोरथगिरिं घातापयित्वा राजगृहकानं पपीलापयति [,] एतानञ्च कश्म-पदान-पनादेन-सम्भूत-सेनवाहने विष्णुमुच्चितुं मधुरमपयातो येव नरिन्दो सब्धघरवासिनञ्च सब्ध- [—] गृहपतिकानञ्च [—] स[—] पान-भोजनं ददाति[,] [कलि]ङ्गं याति[,] पल्लवभार-कप्पकृक्ख-हय-गज-नर-रथ-सह याति[,] सब्ध-घरवासिनञ्च सब्ध-राजभतकानञ्च सब्ध-गृहपतिकानञ्च सब्ध-ब्राह्मणानञ्च पान-भोजनं ददाति[,] अरहतानं समणानञ्च [—] ददाति [,—] सत-सहस्सेहि [।]

१० । नवमे च वस्से वेलुरिय-कलिङ्ग-राजनिवासं महाविजय-पासादं कारयति अट्ठतिंसेहि सत-सहस्सेहि [।]

११ । दसमे च वस्से कलिङ्ग-राजवंसानं ततिय-युग-सग्गावसाने कलिङ्ग-पुब्ब-राजानं यस-सक्कारं-कारापयति सत-सहस्सेहि [।]

१२ । एकादसमे च वस्से [...]-मणि-रतनानि सह याति[,] [—] कलिङ्ग-पुब्बराज-निवेसित-पिथ्दक-दब्भं नङ्गले नेकासयति [,] अनुपदभवन्नश्च तेरस-वस्स-सत-कतं भिन्दति तिमिरदह-संखातं [।]

१३ । बारसमे च वस्से [...] सत-सहस्सेहि वित्तासयति उत्तरापथ-राजानो[,] [—]-मागधानञ्च विपुलं भयं जनयन्तो हत्थिस्सं गङ्गाय पाययति[,] मागधानञ्च राजानं बेहस्सति-मित्तं (वेहप्फतिमित्तं इति वा) पादे वन्दापयति [,] नन्दराज-नीतं कालिङ्ग-जिनासनं अङ्ग-मगधतो कलिङ्गं आनेति[,] हय-गज-सेनवाहन-सहस्सेहि[,] अङ्ग-मगध-वासिनञ्च पादे वन्दापयति[,] [—] वीथि-चत्तर-पलिखानि गोपुराणि सिखराणि निवेसयति[,] सत-वासुको रतनं पेसयन्ति[,] अभुतमच्छुरियं हत्थिस्स-पसवं परिहरन्ति [,] भिग-हय-हत्थो उपनामयन्ति[,] पण्डराजा विविधाभरणानि मुत्ता-मणि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत-सहस्सानि[,] [—] -सिनो वसीकारेति [।]

१४ । तेरसमे च वस्से सुपवत्त-विजय-चक्के कुमारो-पञ्चते अरहतो परि-निवसतो हि काय-निसीदियाय राजभतकेहि राज-भातीहि राज-जातीहि राज-पुत्तेहि राज-महिस्सीहि खारवेल-सिरिना सत्तदस-लेण-सतं कारापितं [।]

१५ । [—]? सकत-समण-सुविहितानञ्च सत-दिसानं यतीनं तापस-इसीनं लेणं कारयति[,] अरहत-निसीदिय-समीपे पञ्चभारे वराकर-समुत्थापिताहि

अनेक-योजनाहिताहि पञ्चतिंसाहि-सतसहस्राहि सिलाहि सिला-यम्भानि च
चेतियानि च कारापयति[,] [—] पटलिक-चत्तरे च वेलुरिय-गम्भे यम्भे
पतिट्ठापयति पञ्च-सत्तति-सतसहस्रेहि[,] [वे]लुरिय-नील-बोच्छिखं चेच्च-यट्ठि-
अद्दसतिकं तिरियं उप्पादयति [।]

१६। खेमराजा स[,] वट्टराजा स[,] इन्दराजा स[,] धम्मराजा पस्सन्तो
अनुभवन्तो कल्याणानि [—] गुण-विसस-कुसलो सब्ब-पासण्ड-पूजको सब्ब-
देवायतन-संखार-कारको अप्पतिहत-चक्क-वाहन-बलो चक्कधरो गुत्तचक्को पवत्त-
चक्को राजिसि-वंस-कुल-विनिस्सितो मग्गविजयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि [।]

१। नमोऽर्हद्भ्यः [॥] नमः सर्वसिद्धेभ्यः [॥] आर्य्येण (वोरेण इति वा) महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन 'चेत'-राजवंशवर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणैः चतुरन्त-रक्षण-गुणोपेतेन कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्री-खारवेलैः पञ्चदश-वर्षाणि श्री-कङ्गार-शरोरवता क्रीडिताः कुमारक्रीडाः [१] ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन सर्वविद्यावदातेन नव-वर्षाणि यौवराज्यमेव शासितम् [१] सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशति-वर्षः स इदानीं वर्द्धमान-शेष-यौवनाभिविजय-स्ततोऽपि कलिङ्ग-राजवंशे पुरुष-युगे महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति [१]

२। अभिषिक्त-मात्रश्च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहृत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रति-संस्कारयति कलिङ्गनगरे [,] गभीर-शीतल-तडाग-पालीश्च बन्धयति [,] सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनञ्च कारयति पञ्चत्रिंश-शतसहस्रैः [,] प्रकृतोश्च रक्षयति [१]

३। द्वितीये च वर्षे अचिन्तयित्वा शातकणिं पश्चिमां दिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं प्रस्थापयति [,] कलिङ्गागतया च सेनया वित्रासयति अश्मक-नगरम्^१ (ऋषिक-नगरमिति वा) [१]

४। तृतीये पुनर्वर्षे गन्धर्ववेद-बुधः दर्प-नृत्त-गीत-वादित्र-सन्दर्शनैरुत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिश्च क्रीडयति नगरीम् [१]

५। तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासं अर्कतपुरं कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराजानां धर्मेण वै नीत्या वै प्रशासयति सर्वत्र धर्मकूटेन [,] भीत-त्रस्तान् च निक्षिप्त-कृत-भङ्गारान् हृत-रत्न-स्वापतेयान् सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकान् पादौ वन्दयति [१]

६। पञ्चमे चेदानीं वर्षे नन्दराजेन त्रिवर्षशतात् पूर्वमुद्धाटितं तनशूलीय-वर्त्मनः प्रणालीं नगरं प्रवेशयति [,] शतसहस्रैश्च खानयति [१]

७। अभिषिक्तश्च [षष्ठे व]र्षे राजश्रियं सन्दर्शयन् सर्व-करणायनेकानु-ग्रहान् शतसहस्रसंख्यकान् विस्तृजति पौर-जानपदे [१]

1. पाठान्तरे — कृष्णवेणागतया भूषिक-नगरम् ।

८। सप्तमे च वर्षे असिच्छत्र-ध्वज-रथ-रत्नि-तुरङ्ग-शत-घटानां सर्वत्र सन्दर्शनं सर्व-मङ्गलानि च कारयति शतसहस्रैः [।]

९। अष्टमे च वर्षे महत्या सेनया मथुरामनुप्राप्तः गोरथगिरिं घातयित्वा राजगृहकान् प्रपौडयति [,] एतेषाञ्च कर्म-प्रदान-प्रणादेन सम्भूतान् सेनावाहनान् विप्रमोक्तं मथुरामपयात एव नरेन्द्रः सर्वगृहवासिभ्यश्च सर्वं [...] गृहपतिभ्यश्च [...] स [—] पान-भोजनं ददाति [,] [कलि]ङ्गं याति [,] पल्लव-भार-कल्पवृक्ष-हय-गज-नर-रथैः सह याति [,] सर्व-गृहवासिभ्यश्च सर्व-राज-भृत्यकेभ्यश्च सर्व-गृहपतिभ्यश्च सर्व-ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च पानभोजनं ददाति [,] आर्हतेभ्यः अमणेभ्यश्च [—] ददाति [,—] शतसहस्रैः [।]

१०। नवमे च वर्षे वैदूर्यं कलिङ्ग-राजनिवासं महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्टात्रिंशच्छतसहस्रैः [।]

११। दशमे च वर्षे कलिङ्ग-राजवंशानां तृतीय-युगसर्गावसाने कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराजानां यशस्सत्कारं कारयति शतसहस्रैः [।]

१२। एकादशे च वर्षे [—] मणि-रत्नैः सह याति [,] [—] कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराज-निवेशित-पृथूदक-दर्भं लाङ्गले निष्कासयति [,] अनुपदर्भवनञ्च त्रयोदश-वर्ष-शत-कृतं भिनत्ति तिमिरहृद-संख्यातम् [।]

१३। द्वादशे च वर्षे [—] शतसहस्रैः विन्नासयति उत्तरापथ-राजान् [,] [—] मागधान् च विपुलं भयं जनयतो हस्त्यश्वं गङ्गायां पाययति [,] मागधानाञ्च राज्ञां बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति [,] नन्दराज-नीतं कालिङ्ग-जिनासनम् अङ्ग-मगधेभ्यः कलिङ्गमानयति हय-गज-सेनावाहनसहस्रैः [,] अङ्ग-मगध-वासिनः पादौ वन्दयति [,] [—] वीथि-चत्वर-पलिघान् गोपुराणि शिखराणि निवेशयति [,] शतं वासुकयो रत्नं प्रेषयन्ति [,] अङ्ग-तानाश्चर्यान् हस्त्यश्व-पशून् परिहारयन्ति [,] मृग-हय-हस्तिनः उपनामयन्ति [,] पाण्डुराजा विविधाभरणानि मुक्ता-मणि-रत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्रसंख्याकानि [,] [—] -सिनः वशीकारयति [।]

१४। त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवर्त्त-विजय-चक्रे कुमारौ-पर्वते अर्हतः परिनिवसतो हि काय-निषीदीं राजभृत्यैः राजभ्रातृभिः राजपुत्रैः राजमहिषीभिः खारवेलीन औमता सप्तदश-लयन-शतं कारितम् [।]

१५। [—?] सत्कृत-अमणेभ्यः सुविहितभ्यश्च शतस्य दिशां यतिभ्यः
तापसर्षिभ्यः लयनं कारयति [.] अर्हन्निषीद्याः समीपे प्राग्भारे वराकर-
समुत्थापिताभिरनेक-योजनाहिताभिः पञ्चत्रिंशच्छतसहस्राभिः शिलाभिः
शिलास्तम्भान् च चैत्यानि च कारयति [.] पाटलिक-चत्वरे च वैदूर्य-गर्भे स्तम्भान्
प्रतिष्ठापयति पञ्चसप्तति-शतसहस्रैः [.] [वैदूर्य-नील-व्यवच्छिन्नं चैत्ययष्टार्द्धशतकं
तिर्थ्यक् उत्पादयति [।]

१६। क्षेमराजः स [.] वर्द्ध-राजः स [.] इन्द्रराजः स [.] धर्मराजः
पश्यन् शृण्वन्ननुभवन् कल्याणानि [—] गुण-विशेष-कुशलः सर्व-पाषण्ड-पूजकः
सर्व-देवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहत-चक्र-वाहन-बलः चक्रधरः गुप्तचक्रः
प्रवर्त्त-चक्रः राजर्षि-वंश-कुल-विनिःसृतो महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-श्रीः [।]

INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

TRANSLATION

1. Let the head bend low in obeisance¹ to Arhats, the Exalted Ones. Let the head bend low (also) in obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints.

By His Lordly² (and) Graceful Majesty³ Khāravēla, the mighty ruler, the Sovran Lord of Kaliṅga, whose vehicle is Mahāmegha (the great-cloud-like state-elephant),⁴ who is the increaser of the Royal House of Ceta,⁵ who is possessed of the noble and auspicious bodily marks,⁶ who is gifted with the capacity for protecting the earth extending as far as the four seas,⁷ were played, for fifteen years, the games befitting the young age of the prince,⁸ with a body lovely and of 'fair brown complexion.'⁹ Thereafter,

1. *Adoration* or *salutation* as a rendering of *namo* does not precisely convey its meaning. The Indian *namaskāra* primarily signifies the bending of the head in token of respect. Here *namo* is a symbolical expression, into which a whole sentence has been abbreviated.

2. Here *Aira* has been taken to be a synonym of *Ārya* or *Śvāmī*, 'Lord' or 'Master.' I am against equating it with *Aila*, a derivation from *Ilā*. Adopting the reading *Verena*, I may offer 'By His Heroic, etc.' as an alternative rendering

3. The English rendering of *Siri* is *Graceful* rather than *Gracious*.

4. Or, who vies with Mahendra, the mighty king of the gods, whose vehicle is cloud. For the epithet *Mahāmegharāhana*, cf. the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XIV, Verse 13: *Vakradantaḥ Karuṣāś ca Karabho Megharāhanaḥ*. Jayaswal seems to think that the *Megha* in the *Purāṇas* is nothing but a shortening from *Megharāhana*. In the *Arthaśāstra*, II. 2. 20, the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Prācyā and Karūśa are said to have been of the best breed: "*Kaliṅgāṅga-gajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ Prācyāś cēti Karūśajāḥ*."

5. *The Royal House of Ceta* is the same expression as Jayaswal's "the House of King Ceta." Adopting the reading *Ceti-rājavamsa*, one may translate—"of the Cedi ruling race."

6. That is, the marks or features that are of importance to the astrologer, diviner, palmist or physiognomist.

7. Adopting the reading *caturamṭala-thuna*, one may render with Jayaswal—"the support of the whole land"; or, adopting the reading *caturamṭa-laṭhuna*, one may render with Sten Konow—"provided with virtues famous to the four ends (of the world)."

8. Jayaswal's "*princely games*" may be preferred for its brevity.

9. With Childers *kaḷāra* or *kaḍāra* is "tawny" or "tan-coloured." Sten Konow suggests that *Siri-kaḍāra* is the same Prakrit expression as *Siri-kaṭāra*, which means, according to the *Ṣaḍdamālā*, *nāgara* and *kāmi*. From this he is led to think that "*Siri-kaḍāra* is the lover of *Śri*, i.e., *Kṛṣṇa*," and that "*Khāravēla's* boyish games are compared with *Kṛṣṇa's* pranks and sports in *Vṛndāvana*." Jayaswal

for nine years, just the office of a Crown-Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who became an expert in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, administration and procedures,¹ whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning.'² On completing then (his) twenty-fourth year, he who, as he waxed great,³ passed the rest of (his) manhood in making conquests, gained the high state implied in the coronation of a great king,⁴ in the royal dynasty of Kāliṅga, in the third generation of two kings.⁵

2. And as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the gates, walls and buildings that had been damaged by stormy wind to be repaired in the city of Kāliṅga, and caused the embankments of the deep and cool tanks to be built up, and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (coins), and (thus) enabled the people (his subjects) to be pleased.⁶

finally accepts Sten Konow's explanation and renders *Siri-kaṭāra* "the lover of Śrī (Viṣṇu)." I think it will not be judicious to commit ourselves so far as that. "*Kaṭāraṃ tṛṇa bahṇi-vat*" is a quotation made by Jayaswal just to the point. Cf. *Kaṭāra-Jaṃini*, *Kaṭāra-Janaka*, and *Kaṭāra-maṭṭuka*.

1. See Notes *passim*.

2. I mean, the whole body of useful sciences and arts. See Notes *passim*.

3. The expression *vadhamāna* involves the metaphor of the moon waxing day by day. Cf. Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-Sambhava-Kāvya*, I. 25 :

Dine dine sā parivardhamānā labdhīdayā candramasīva lekṣā |

4. For *mahārājābhīṣecana*, cf. *yuvārājābhīṣecana* in the *Artha-Śāstra*. II. 36

5. Jayaswal takes *totiye Kāliṅga-rājanāṃse purisa-yuge* to mean "in the third dynasty of the Aira line of the kings of Kāliṅga." According to R. C. Mazumdar, the phrase does not mean any more than "in the third generation of the Kāliṅga kings, the third generation of the same reigning dynasty." In accordance with the above rendering, the phrase means "in the third generation of the same reigning dynasty of Kāliṅga, each generation of which was considered as consisting of two kings." Jayaswal's rendering is evidently based upon the authority of a few Sanskrit stanzas quoted by him from an old Oriya manuscript, which according to Prof. Haraprasad Shastri, belongs to the 14th century A.D. These stanzas clearly state that a king named Aira, who was the lord of Utkala, had defeated King Nanda in a battle, and that he was a great friend or enemy of Aśoka. There is nothing definite to show that Khāraavela belonged to the third dynasty of the Aira line of Kings. For further discussion, see Notes *passim*.

6. Jayaswal connects *pana-tisāhi satasahasēhi* with *pakatiyo*, taking it to denote the total number of the subjects, the citizens of Kāliṅga, whom Khāraavela sought to please. He cites with confidence, in his support, the authority of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* which

3. And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Śātakarṇi into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous troop of horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to move on to the western quarter, and with the aid of the army from Kalinga, struck terror, into the city of Asaka.¹

4. Again, in the third year, (His Majesty), who was versed in the science of music—the Gandharva-lore, caused the capital (the city of Kalinga) to be amused by exhibiting 'combats,'² and dancing, singing and musical performances, and (no less) by arranging festivities and 'merry gatherings.'³

5. Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty) caused the city of Arakata which was the habitation of Vidyādhara, the spell-muttering denizens, to be governed in accordance with the principle and usage of the former kings of Kalinga, all over by the highest kind of law, and compelled all the 'local chiefs'⁴ and 'headmen'⁵ who were robbed of their wealth

sanctions the use of the expression "*Śatena vatsān pāyayati payaḥ*," applying *śatena* to mean "*śatena parichidya*." Supposing *śatena* in this expression is connected with *vatsān* (calves, an Accusative plural), what does it mean? Does it mean a hundred calves? I would say, No. Here *śatena vatsān* just means "the calves divided into the groups of one hundred." Applying this meaning of *śatena vatsān* to *panatīsāhi sata-sahasēhi pakatiyo* in Khāravēla's text, one has to say that Khāravēla pleased his subjects, dividing them into the groups of thirty-five hundred thousand persons, a meaning, which hardly suits the context. See what Patañjali has got to say on this point. In commenting on Pāṇini's aphorism, II. 3. 18, he says: "*Dvidroṇena dhānyam kṛiṇātīti.....dvidroṇena hiranyena dhānyam kṛiṇātī*" and so as to "*pañcakena paśūn, sāhasreṇa aśvān kṛiṇātīti*." Thus going by the authority of Patañjali, one may explain Khāravēla's clause as meaning "he sought to please his subjects by spending thirty-five hundred thousand coins," if *panā-tīsāhi sata-sahasēhi* be at all connected with *pakatiyo*. For connecting *panatīsāhi sata-sahasēhi* with *pakatiyo* Jayaswal's argument is that there is a large space between *kārayati* and *panatīsāhi*. I can quite see that spaces in the Hāthi-Gumpha inscription have some meaning. But that meaning is not in all places punctuation. The spaces are also intended to keep two words distinct. Even it is found that spaces are not where they should be, e.g., in L 4, before *tatiye puna tase*.

1. Note that in the Nāsik Cave inscription, Cave No. 3, Śātakarṇi has been described as the lord of Asika and Asaka among other places mentioned by name (*Asika-Asaka . . . pati*). Adopting Jayaswal's reading *Kaṇḥavenāgatāya.....Musika-nagaram*, one may translate "with the aid of the army which advanced as far as the Kṛṣṇavenā river, struck terror into the Mūsika city."

2. For the meaning of *dāmpa* or *darpa*, see Notes *passim*.

3. For the meaning of *samāja*, see Notes *passim*.

4, 5. For the meaning of *raṭhika-bhojaka*, see Notes *passim*.

and jewels, whose insignia consisting of umbrellas and golden vases had been cast away, who were frightened and terrified, to bow at (his) feet.

6. And, then, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda, a hundred-and-three years¹ back, to be brought into the capital from the Tanaśūli² road, and caused (it) to be dug at the cost of a hundred thousand (coins).

7. And in the sixth year since he was anointed, (His Majesty), while displaying the royal fortune,³ bestowed (an unprecedented) favour on the inhabitants of the towns and districts⁴ by remitting all taxes and duties⁵ amounting to many hundred thousand (coins).⁶

8. And in the seventh year, (His Majesty) caused a hundred kinds of pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, chariots, guards and horses, and all ceremonies of victory⁷ to be performed at the cost of some hundred thousand (coins).

9. And in the eighth year, (His Majesty) having killed⁸ Gorathagiri on reaching Mathurā with a mighty army, caused a terrible pressure to be brought to bear upon⁹ the people of Rājagaha (Rājagṛha),¹⁰ and, in order to release the troops and vehicles terrified by the uproar of counter-attacks

1. Or, three hundred years.

2. To me, *Tanasulī* is the same expression as *Tanasiva*. I am not sure if *Tanasulī* is the same place as *Tosalī* mentioned in Aśoka's two Separate Rock Edicts.

3. Adopting the reading *rājasūyaṃ*, Jayaswal translates "showing *Rājasūya*."

4. Jayaswal seems to go too far in explaining *Pura-Jānapada* as meaning the *Pura* and the *Jānapada* as two corporate bodies. See Notes *passim*.

5. Here *kara-vaṇa* has been taken as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *kara-paṇa* or *kara-paṇya*. Jayaswal translates "all Government taxes (lit, tax money)."

6. Or, remitted all taxes and duties and did many hundred thousand (other) kinds of favour.

7. Note that in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, *maṅgala* has been used as the opposite of *parābhava*. The idea of victory attaching to the word *maṅgala* is clearly brought out in the concluding verse of the *Maṅgala-Sutta* which reads :—

Etādisāni katvāna sabbattham aparāpitā |

Sabbattham sotthiṃ gacchanti taṃ tesam maṅgalamuttamanti ||

8. Suggesting the reading *mahata-bhutti Goradharim ghātāpayitū*, Jayaswal translates "having got stormed the Gorathagiri (fortress) of great enclosure." For arguments for and against taking *Gorathagiri* as the name of a hill fortress or as a personal name, see Notes *passim*.

9. Literally, terribly oppressed.

10. Adopting the reading *Rājagaham upapīḍāpayati*, Jayaswal translates "causes pressure around *Rājagṛha* (lays siege to *Rājagṛha*)."

on their part, as he, the lord of men, retreated to Mathurā,¹ offered food-and-drink as a means of entertaining all the inhabitants (of the place), and all the royal servants, all the householders, all the Brahmins and Ārhata (Jain) recluses, returned to Kaliṅga, marching back with Kalṣavṛkṣa,² the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and the troop of the horses, elephants, footmen and chariots, offered (on return) food-and-drink by way of entertaining all the inhabitants, and all the royal servants, and all the householders, and all the Brahmins, and offered food and drink (also) for entertaining the Ārhata (Jain) recluses, at the cost of [so many] hundred thousand (coins).

10. And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused Mahāvijaya-Pāsāda, the Great-victory Palace, the Beryl³ House of the King of Kaliṅga, to be built at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (coins).

11. And in the tenth year, on the termination of a part of the period of reign of the third generation of two kings of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga, (His Majesty) caused homage and honour to be paid to the memory of the former kings of Kaliṅga at the cost of a hundred thousand (coins).⁴

12. And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty) went in procession with jewels, precious stones, etc. [—] caused the grassy jungle of Pṛthudaka,⁵ founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, to be driven into the Lāṅgala river,⁶ and destroyed the watery jungle of grass called Timira-daha, the Dark-swamp,⁷ which grew up in one hundred and thirteen years.⁸

1. Jayaswal translates "on account of this report of the acts of valour (i.e., the capture of Goradhagiri, etc., the king so called to forsake the invested (saṃbita) division of his army, went away to Mathurā indeed." Reading Yavana-rāja Dimaṭa, Sten Konow translates "and through the uproar occasioned by the action the Yavana king Demetrios went off to Mathurā in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble."

2. It is mentioned in some of the Jain books that only the paramount sovereigns were entitled to perform the ceremony of installing the Wishing Tree.

3. Some of the scholars prefer lapis lazuli as a rendering of veḷuriya or vaidūrya.

4. Reading mahadhītabhisamayo Bharadhavaṣa-pāṭhānaṃ mahi-jayanaṃ...ti kārūpayati, Jayaswal translates "he having by sacred rites undertaken war, causes .. departure for Northern India to conquer the land."

5. Indraji reads the name as Pāthuḍa; Fleet, as Pāṇthudamga; Syl ain Lévi, as Pithuḍa (Pihumda); Sten Konow, as Pithumḍa; and Jayaswal, as Pithuḍa.

6. Sylvain Lévi and Sten Konow read gadobhanamgulena kāsāyati and translate, "caused to be ploughed with the donkey plough," which means "to be destroyed."

7. Or, "abounding in dark swamps."

8. Adopting the reading terasa-vasa-sata, Indraji, Jayaswal and Sten Konow translate "thirteen hundred years." Adopting the reading terasa-khasa-sataṃ, R. C. Mazumdar translates "thirteen hundred Khaṣas."

13. And in the twelfth year, (His Majesty) caused [something to be done] with the aid of [some] hundred thousand, produced consternation among¹ the rulers of Uttarāpatha,² while generating a great fear for the people of [Aṅga and] Magadha made the elephants and horses to drink at the Ganges,³ and compelled Bahapatimita,⁴ the king of Magadha, to bow at his feet; caused the honoured seat of the Jina belonging to Kalinga which was taken away by King Nanda to be brought back from Aṅga and Magadha to Kalinga by a procession of the horses and elephants and a thousand troops and vehicles, and compelled the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha to bow at his feet; [—] caused the streets, courtyards, gate-bars, gates and temples to be set up; one hundred Vāsukis (Dragon Chiefs) sent (him) precious stones, supplied (him) with rare and wonderful elephants, horses⁵ and such other animals, and made presents of antelopes, horses and elephants; the king of Pāṇḍya had procured the various kinds of apparels and ornaments, hundreds and thousands of them, for use here (in the city of Kalinga)⁶; [—] brought (some ones) into submission.

14. And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī hill,⁷ in the well-run realm of victory,⁸ one hundred and seventeen caves were caused to be made by His Graceful Majesty Khāravēla, by his queens, by his sons,

1. Literally, terrified.

2. Adopting the reading *Utarāpadha-rājānaṃ*, one may translate "the king of Uttarāpatha."

3. Reading *hathī Suganḡāya pāyayati*, Jayaswal translates "he effects the crossing of the Ganges on his elephants."

4. See Notes *passim*.

5. Reading *hathī-nāvana* for *hathīsa-pasavaṇi*, Jayaswal translates "cargo of elephant-ships."

6. Note that by *idha* or *iha* Aśoka had clearly meant Pāṭaliputra, his capital. See Rock Edict, V.

7. From the two data supplied in Udyotakeśari's inscription in Lālatendukeśari's cave on the Khaṇḍagiri hill, the installation of the images of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, such as those in the Navanuni cave, and the excavation of a tank, it may easily be inferred, as done by R. D. Banerji, that *Kumāra-parvata* was the ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri. If so, by way of contrast, *Kumārī-parvata* may be regarded as the ancient name of Udayagiri. There is much justification for Banerji to remark that the twin hills, Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, were known as the *Kumāra-Kumārī-parvata* even up to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

8. It seems that *suparvata-vijaya-cake Kumārī-parvate* is an expression of the same kind as *vijaya-rājye śrī-Kumāra-parvata-sthāne*. One may also translate: "on the Kumārī hill in the august belt of Suparvata, the noble mountain range."

by his relatives, by his brothers, by the royal servants¹ for the residing Arhats desiring to rest their bodies.²

15. [And in the fourteenth year,] (His Majesty) caused a cave to be built for the honoured³ recluses of established reputation⁴ as well as for the yatis,⁵ hermits⁶ and sages⁷ hailing from a hundred directions;⁸ caused the shrines and stone-pillars to be made with stone-slabs quarried out of the best quarries and collected from an extensive area of many leagues; [—] caused the pillars to be set up in a beryl-hall with ornamental floor and ceiling⁹ at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand (coins); and caused half-a-hundred shrine-posts (votive pillars)¹⁰ inlaid with the alternate settings¹¹ of beryl¹² and emerald (lotuses)¹³ to be produced across (alongside).¹⁴

16. He who was the lord of security, he who was the lord of bounty, he who was like Inda-rājā, the lord of power, [he who was] like Dhamma-rājā, the lord of justice, perceiving, hearing and experiencing the

1. Reading *Yāpa-ñāvakehi*, Jayaswal translates "to the Yāpa professors who are actively engaged in Yāpa and Khema practices."

2. For the meaning of *kāya-nisīdiyāyo*, see Notes *passim*.

3. Reading *sukata*, Jayaswal translates "virtuous."

4. Jayaswal translates "well provided for."

5. They are the spiritually advanced Brahmanical ascetics of the fourth stage of effort. *Yati* is but a synonym of *bhikṣu* and *parivrājaka*.

6. They are the Brahmanical religious of the third stage of effort.

7. They are the high-famed Brahmanical teachers, whether belonging to the second stage of effort or to the third.

8. Reading *sava-dsānaṃ* with Indrajī, one may translate "of all quarters."

9. Buddhaghosa explains the term *paṭalikā* as meaning "*ghanapuppho unṇāmayo attharako*" "a woollen coverlet thickly woven with flowers." He informs us that a *paṭalikā* was also known as *āmīlaka-paṭṭa* (Childers, *sub voce* *Paṭalikā*). Jayaswal suggests that *pāṭalikā-avacātvara*, meaning "on the lower roofed terrace" is the Sanskrit equivalent of Khāravēla's *paṭalika catara*.

10. *Ceca-yaṭhi* = *cetiya-yaṭi*, cf. *chatra-yaṭi*, Lüders' list, Nos. 925, 927. For *cetiya* = *cecca*, see Fausbøll's *jātika*, Vol. V, p. 273: *Ceco'ti Cetiya rājā*. *Ceca-yaṭhi* is but a synonym of *cetiya-khaṃbha*, which means a *cetiya*-pillar, Lüders' List, Nos. 1210, 1229.

11. The literal rendering of *vochumna* is "divided alternately into."

12, 13. The *voidūrya* and *nīla* varieties of gems are thus enumerated in the *Artha-śāstra*. II. 11.29: (1) *Vuidūryaḥ*—*utpalacarnāḥ*, *sirīṣapūṣpakāḥ*, *udakacarnāḥ*, *vamśarāgaḥ*, *śukapatravarnāḥ*, *puṣṣarāgaḥ*, *gomūtrakaḥ*, *gomedalakaḥ*." (2) "*Nīlāvalīyaḥ*—*indranīlaḥ*, *kalāya-puṣpakāḥ*, *mahānīlaḥ*, *jāmbavābhāḥ*, *jīmūtaprabhāḥ*, *nandakāḥ*, *sraṇmadhyaḥ*, *aitarṣṭi*, *sūryakāntaś ceti māyayaḥ*."

14. For justification of the rendering of the concluding clause of the record of the 14th year, see Notes *passim*.

things that are conducive to welfare,¹ [—] was His Graceful Majesty Khāravēla, the great conqueror, who was descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, who kept up the realm of royal command,² the protector of ³ the realm of royal command, who was strong with undaunted carriers ⁴ of the realm of royal command, who was the repairer of all abodes of the gods,⁵ the honourer of all sects, who became an expert by the possession of special qualities.

1. The five *mahākalyāṇas*, according to the Jainas, consist of the Descent, Birth, Initiation, Attainment and Final Release in the life-history of a Jina.

2. *Cakka* is the *āṇācakka* or *ājñācakra*.

3. *Literally*, by whom is protected.

4. *i.e.*, ministers and officers,

5 *i.e.*, shrines and temples.

No. II

**INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA'S CHIEF QUEEN
RELATING TO
THE VAIKUNṬHAPURA CAVE**

INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA'S CHIEF QUEEN

The following record is connected with the cave which is called Vaikuṇṭha Cave by Mr. James Prinsep and Vaikuṇṭhapura Cave by Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra. The cave concerned "is in reality," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "the upper story of a cave with stories and a side-wing, but the local people very often give different names to different parts. It was known as Svargapura sometime ago. In the plan printed with the Puri volume of the Bengal District Gazetteer, the whole group is called Mañcapuri. I have found that the local names of these caves vary with each generation. As one name is forgotten, a new one is immediately invented. The record is incised on the raised space between the second and third doorways in front. This raised space represents a house or verandah with a pointed roof and spires supported little dwarfs who act as brackets. (The record itself) consists of three lines which have suffered much from exposure. The characters of this and the following two inscriptions are slightly later than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla."

Regarding this and the following two caves, and regarding this and the following two inscriptions, we have the following authentic account in Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 14-15:

"Further north-west of (the Gopālapura and Muñcapura caves), a little above the level of the surrounding country, we come to a two-storeyed range designed somewhat in the style of the Queen's Palace (Rāṇi-nūr), but on a smaller scale. The storeys are so arranged as not to rest directly one above the other, but the upper recedes so as to have the top of the lower one open to form a terrace. The upper storey is called Vaikuṇṭhapura, and the lower Pātālapura. The lower storey comprises a suite of three rooms, two on a line facing the west, and one on the south, projecting considerably beyond the line of the former, the whole protected by a verandah in front. The eastern rooms are of a trapezoid shape, the extreme length before and behind differing by about 1 foot, the breadth being 7 feet. Each room has two doors opening into the verandah. The southern room is also a trapezium 10 feet in length on the western side, and 11' 6" on the southern, the breadth being, as before, 7'. It opens into the verandah by a single door. The doorways are framed with pilasters and semi-circular arched

bands on the top as in the Queen's Palace, but without any intervening frieze. The two ends of the verandah project forward to the extent of about 5 ft. Its pillars are now very much decayed, and mis-shapen, but originally they were of the Queen's Palace type, square above and below, and octagonal in the centre. The architrave once had a deep frieze formed of *basso-relievo* figures of men and animals, but it has been very much defaced by the ravages of time."

"A little beyond the northern projection of the verandah, there is a narrow flight of steps reaching to the upper storey which is an exact counterpart of the lower floor except that on the east side, there is only one room running along the whole length of the verandah, and having three doors, and the side room has, in the middle of the western wall, a window of a much larger size than any that I have seen on this hill. The dimensions of the eastern room are 22' x 6' 6", that of the southern room 9' x 6', both average, and that of the verandah 24' x 3 ft. The doors measure 3½ ft. by 2, and have the usual side pilasters and semi-circular arched bands, but no frieze. The verandah had a range of four detached and two attached pillars, of which the last only are visible. On the architrave on the top of the verandah, there was a frieze of angels, elephants, devotees, the Bo tree, the wheel of law, etc., but they are hardly distinguishable now."

"To the west of the southern room and forming the right wing of the Pātālapura cave, there is a small room running east and west, with two doors and a verandah divided into two intercolumniations by a heavy pillar in the middle. At the corner where the verandah starts from the Pātālapura range, there is an *alto-relievo* figure against the side pier, in imitation of the sentinel before the right wing of Queen's Palace. The cave is in a very ruinous condition now, and bears the appropriate name of Yamapura or Hades. The exterior view of a *rikhāra* on the Udayagiri hill in Mr. Fergusson's *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India* represents the three caves of Vaikuṇṭhapura, Pātālapura and Yamapura."

"On the right hand pier of the centre door of the Vaikuṇṭha range (the upper storey of the Mañcapurī cave in Mr. Banerji's description), there is a Pāli inscription in the Lāṭ (Aśokan) characters, which is very carefully and deeply cut."

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in JAS 3, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 8 called Vaikuṇṭha Cave; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript

in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 15, the Cave called Vaikunṭhapura; Alexander Cunningham's eye-copy reproduced in *Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 9 called Vaikunṭha; Bhagawanlal Indraji's eye-copy reproduced in *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, Part III, Sec. II; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī inscriptions* in E I, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1346, the Cave called Svargapura; Haridas Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in E I, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Cave-inscriptions*, Pl. I, No. I, the Cave denoted by the expression "the upper storey of the Mañcapurī Cave"; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA'S CHIEF QUEEN

TEXT

Arahanta-pasādā(na)m¹ Kāliṃgā(na)m² (sama)n[ā]-
 nam³ leṇam⁴ kārītam⁵ [,—]rājino⁶ L[ā]lāka(sa)⁷
 [l. 1] Hathisā(ī)ha-sampa(n)ātasa⁸ dhutunā⁹ Kāliṃga-
 ca(kavatino)¹⁰ (siri-Khārave)lasa¹¹ [l. 2] aga-mahisi(n)ā¹²
 kā[r]i-(tam)¹³ [.] [1.3]

1. The fourth letter is not at all noticed in Kittoe's facsimile. Cunningham and Indrajī correctly read *pasādānam*. Sten Konow thinks that the reading may be *pasādāya*, a Dative form of *pasāda* in the sense of *prasāda* or "gift." Lüders contemplates a similar reading when he renders the word "in honour of." Banerji reads *pasādāyaṃ*, treating it as a Locative form of *pasāda*, which is taken to be the equivalent of *prāsāda*, "temple or palace." His argument in support of his reading *pasādāyaṃ* is this: "There is a short vertical stroke attached to the right end of the horizontal base line of the letter," and "there are indications of a similar vertical stroke at the left end." But *pasādāyaṃ* as a Locative form of *pasāda* in the sense of *prāsāda*, "temple or palace" is unexpected in the language of an inscription of this kind, *pasāda* being a neuter stem. Were Banerji's reading at all correct, *pasādāyaṃ* might have been treated as a Sandhi of *pasādā* (=Sk. *prasādāt*, "by the grace of") and *ayaṃ*, a pronominal adjective qualifying *leṇam*, although here, too, one would expect *idaṃ* or *imaṃ* instead of *ayaṃ*. So far as I am able to ascertain, neither the plaster cast nor the original stone shows any trace of a short vertical stroke attached to the end of the left extension of the horizontal base line. The appearance of such a stroke above the right extension of the horizontal base line may be due to the mysterious work of a hornet. The letter, as we see it, is neither *ya*, nor *pa*, nor *na*. The reading of it as *pa* (*pasādāpaṃ*) yields no intelligible meaning. The reading of it as *na* (*Arahanta-pasādānam*, "of the Ārhata [Jaina] faith") yields an intelligible meaning. The letter with a short vertical stroke appearing above the right extension of the horizontal base line resembles the third letter after *Hathisāha* in l. 2 which Prinsep reads *no*, Cunningham reads *nā*, and Indrajī and Banerji read *po*. It resembles the third letter of *pāpunāti* in l. 1 (l. 3), and the first letter of *nagari* in l. 4 (l. 5), see Pl. 1, JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 472.

2. Prinsep reads *Kāliṃga*; Cunningham, *Kāliṃgānam*. Indrajī and Banerji correctly read *Kāliṃgānam*.

3. The first letter is represented in Kittoe's facsimile as *ya*, and the second letter is not at all noticed. Cunningham is the first to correctly read *samanānam*. In Dutta's estampage, the lower half of the letter *ma* is missing on account of abrasion.

4. Prinsep reads *loṇa*, rendering it "excavated." Cunningham and Indrajī read *leṇam*. Banerji correctly reads *leṇaṃ*.

5. Prinsep reads *kāḍataṃ*, mistaking the second letter *ri* for *ḍa*. It seems to appear, at first sight, as *ḍa*. Cunningham is the first to correctly read *kāritaṃ*.
6. Prinsep reads *rajino*. But Kittoe's facsimile has clearly the *ā*-mark in the first letter.
7. Prinsep reads *lasa* Kittoe's facsimile shows the traces of four letters which are clearly set forth in the eye-copies of Cunningham and Indrajī. Both Cunningham and Indrajī read *Lālākasa*. In Dutta's estampage, as noted by Banerji, "the *ā*-mark is more prominent in the second syllable than in the first."
8. Prinsep reads *hethisahasaṃpanotasa*. Kittoe's facsimile has *hathisehasaṃ*. Cunningham reads *hathisāhanampanātasa*; Indrajī, *Hathisāhasa papotasa*, suggesting that the intended name must have been *Hathisiha*; Banerji, *Hathisāhasa papotasa*, suggesting that the intended name is either *Hathisāhasa* or *Hathisāha*. The inscribed surface of the original stone distinctly shows that the four letters after *Hathisāha* or *Hathis[i]ha* are *saṃ-pa-(u)ā-ta-sa*. It showed the same even a century ago when Kittoe prepared a facsimile of it. It is certain that the third letter may be read as *(p)ā* but by no means as *(p)o*. When the fourth letter is a clear *ta*, we need not presume it to be a mysterious transformation from *ga*, in order to make out *saṃpanāgasa* (*sarpanāgasya*) after *Hathisāha* or *Hathis[i]ha*. For a similar compound in which a noun is preceded and followed by two adjectives qualifying it, cf. *sakata-samaṇa-suvihātā* in I. 15.
9. Prinsep reads only the first letter as *ya*. Kittoe's facsimile has *ya.una*. Cunningham reads *ca tino*. Indrajī and Banerji correctly read *dhutunā*. Jayaswal fails to find out in *Dhutunā* the name *Dhuti* (= Sk. *Dhṛṣṭi*) of King Lālāka's daughter.
10. Cunningham reads only the first letter as *ca*. Indrajī proceeds so far as *cakavati*. Banerji hits the goal by reading *cakavatino*.
11. Prinsep reads the last three letters as *velasa*. Indrajī reads the last five letters as *Khāravelasa*. Banerji reads all the seven letters as *siri-Khāravelasa*.
12. Prinsep reads *mahi puta*; Cunningham, *mahi piḍa*. Indrajī correctly reads *mahisinā*.
13. Prinsep reads *kaḍā*; Cunningham, *kāḍā*; Dutta's estampage bears out Banerji's reading *kāritaṃ*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

अरहंत-पसादा(नं) कालिङ्गानं समनानं लेणं कारितं [,—] राजिनो
ल[1]लाकस हयिस[1]हसंप-(न)ातस धुतुना कलिङ्गचक्रवर्तिनो सिरि-
खारवेलस अग-महिसिना कारितं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

अरहन्त-पसादानं कालिङ्गानं समणानं लेणं कारितं [,] राजिनो लालकस्स
हयिस[1]ह-सम्पन्नत्तस्स धौतुना कलिङ्गचक्रवर्त्तिनो सिरि-खारवेलस्स अग-
महिसिना कारितं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

अर्हत्सु प्रसन्नेभ्यः कालिङ्गेभ्यः अमणेभ्यः लयनं कारितं[,—]राज्ञो लालार्कस्य
हस्ति[1]संह-सम्पन्नात्मनः दुहित्वा कलिङ्गचक्रवर्त्तिनः ओ-खारवेलस्य अग्र-
महिष्या कारितं [1]

TRANSLATION

The cave has been made for the Kālīṅga recluses ¹ of the Ārhata (Jain) faith,²—caused to be made by the chief queen of His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, the (King) Overlord of Kālīṅga,—by the daughter of the high-souled ³ King Lālārka ⁴ Hastisāha or Hastisipha.

1. Treating *samanānaṃ* as a Genitive case, one must translate: "The cave of the Kālīṅga recluses of the Ārhata (Jain) faith."

2. Adopting the reading *Arahaṃta-pasādāya*, one may translate with Sten Konow and Lüders: "In honour of;" and adopting *Arahaṃta-pasādāyaṃ*, one may translate: "By the grace of the Arhat or Arhats, this (cave)."

3. The word *saṃpanāta* is equated with the Sk. *saṃpannātma*, which literally means "self-endowed," "one whose self has prospered by the attainment of desired objects." For the meaning *saṃpannātma*, cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII. 3: *Yaṃ yaṃ antam abhikāmo bhavati, yaṃ kāmam kāmayaṭe so'sya saṃkalpād eva samuttiṣṭhati, tena saṃpanno mahīyate*. Śaṅkara explains *saṃpanna* thus: *abhipretārthapṛāptyā ca saṃpanno*.

4. *L[ā]lāka* or *Lālārka* means "glorious like the rising sun," apparently as an earlier synonym of *Bālāditya*. For the use of *Lālāka* as a *biruda*, cf. *Yasalālaka-Tissa* occurring in the Mahāvamsa (XXXV. 50) as the name of a king of Ceylon. But it may not be going too far to treat *Lālāka* as a local epithet signifying that *Hastisāha* or *Hastisimha* was 'the sun of Lāla.'

No. III

**INSCRIPTION OF KADAMPA OR KUDEPA
RELATING TO
THE PĀTĀLAPURA CAVE**

INSCRIPTION OF KADAMPA-KUDEPA

The following 'record is incised on a raised band between the third and fourth doors from the left' in the verandah of the lower storey of the Mañcapuri group of three caves which are designated by Mr Fergusson and Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra as Vaikunṭhapura, Pātālapura and Yamapura. There is every reason for believing that the inscription was meant to record the excavation and dedication of the second cave of this interesting group by siri-Kadappa or siri-Kudepa, the Sovran Lord of Kaliṅga, who may have been either the contemporary or immediate successor of siri-Khāravela.

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in *JASB*, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 6 miscalled Mānikpura; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 16; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 7 miscalled Mānikpura; Bhagwantal Indrajī's eye-copy reproduced in *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, Part III, Sec. II; Lüders' *List of Brāhmi inscriptions* in *E I*, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1347, Cave called Udayagiri Mañcapuri-gumphā; Haridas Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in *E I*, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Cave Inscriptions*, Pl. I, No. II, Cave denoted by the expression "Mañcapuri Cave—Lower Story, Front Wall"; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF KADAMPA-KUDEPA

TEXT

Airasa¹ mahārājasa Kalīṃgādhipatino² mahā(megha)-
vāha(nasa)³ Kadampa⁴ - sīrīno⁵ leṇaṃ⁶ [.]

1. Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Indrāji read *Verasa*. Banerji reads *Kharasa*, which is impossible. Cunningham, Jayaswal and Sten Konow read *Anasa*. I am strongly inclined to read the royal epithet also as *Verasa*. The first letter bears the closest possible resemblance to the first letter of the name *Vahudātī* in the Pāṭhoshā inscriptions of Āśāḍhasena edited by Führer in EI, Vol. II.

2. Prinsep reads *Kalīṃgādhipatano*; Cunningham *Kalāṃgādhipatano*. Indrāji is the first to correctly read *Kalīṃgādhipatino*.

3. Prinsep reads only the first letter as *ma*. Cunningham reads *mahameghavāhana*; Indrāji, *mahāmeghavāhana*; Banerji correctly, *mahāmeghavāhanasa*.

4. Prinsep reads *Kadepa*. Cunningham reads the last two letters as *depa*. Indrāji and Lüders read the name as *Vakadepa*. Banerji reads *Kūḍepa*. In Dutta's estampage and in the cast one may read the first letter as *Ku* or *Kū*, but I do not see how the second letter might be read as *ḍe*. The second letter is unmistakably *de* or *dam*.

5. Banerji is perfectly justified in reading *sīrīno* as it appears in Dutta's estampage or in the cast. But there is nothing to prevent one reading *srīno* with Prinsep and others.

6. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra wrongly read *leṇaṃ*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

ऐरस (वेरस इति वा) महाराजस कलिङ्गाधिपतिनो महामेघवाहनस कदंप-
सीरीनो (कूदेप-सिरिनो इति वा) लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

अयिरस्स (वीरस्स इति वा) महाराजस्स कलिङ्गाधिपतिनो महामेघ-
वाहनस्स कदम्ब-सिरिनो (कूदेव-सिरिनो इति वा) लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

आर्यस्य (वीरस्य इति वा) महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेर्महामेघवाहनस्य
श्री-कदम्बस्य (श्री-कुदेवस्य इति वा) लयनं [1]

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of His Lordly Graceful Majesty
Kadampa or Kudapa, the Great King, the Sovran Lord of Kaliṅga,
whose vehicle is Mahāmegha (the great cloud-like state-elephant).

No. IV

INSCRIPTION OF VADUKHA OR VARIKHA
RELATING TO
THE YAMAPURA CAVE

INSCRIPTION OF VAḌUKHA-VARIKHA

The following inscription, consisting of one line, 'is incised on the right wall of the verandah of the lower story, to the right of the entrance to the righthand side-chamber of the main wing' of the Mañcapurī group of three caves designated Vaikuṇṭhapura, Pātālapura and Yamapura by Mr. Fergusson and Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra. There is every reason for believing that the inscription was meant to be a record of the excavation and dedication of the third cave of this group by Prince Vaḷukha or Varikha.

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 7 miscalled Mānikpura cave; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 16; Alexander Cunningham's eye-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 8 miscalled Mānikpura Cave; Bhagwanlal Indraji's eye-copy reproduced in *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, Part III, Sec. II; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1348, Cave called Udayagiri Mañcapuri-gumphā; Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Cave Inscriptions*, Pl. I, No. III; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF VADUKHA-VARIKHA

TEXT

Kumāro¹ -Vaḍukhasa² leṇaṃ³ [.]

¹ Banerji rightly points out that the *ā*-stroke in the second letter is added to the middle instead of the top. This phenomenon may be observed also in some instances afforded by the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. The *o*-stroke in the third letter is quite distinct. It is difficult to decide all at once whether the retention of the singular masculine Nominative case-ending in *Kumāro*, the first word of a compound, is a dialectical peculiarity or a mistake of the mason-engraver. In one of the Barhut *Jātaka*-labels we have *Sujato-gahuto-Jataka*, but in another, *Miga-Jātakaṇ*.

² Prinsep wrongly reads *Vattakasa*; Cunningham, *Vaddakasa* or *Vaḍukasa*. Indraji is the first to read *Vaḍukhasa*. Regarding the second letter, Banerji remarks: "The medial *u* in *Vaḍukha* is very small in size but quite distinct"; and regarding the third letter, he observes that here the *kha* "has neither a triangle nor a circle at its base." It is not impossible that the intended name is *Varikha*, the *u*-stroke being only an accidental chisel mark. It is remarkable how Prinsep and Cunningham have mistaken *ri* for *ḍa* in the inscription of *Khāravela*'s chief queen, the Inscription No. II.

Prinsep and Rājendralāla Mitra wrongly read *leṇaṇ*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

कुमारो वडुखस (वरिखस इति वा) लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

कुमार-वलखस्स (वरिक्खस्स इति वा) लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

कुमार-वडुखस्य (वरिखस्य इति वा) लयनं [1]

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of Prince Vaḍukha¹ or Varikha.²

¹ *Vaḍukha* is apparently a pet name of the prince like *Tivāla* in Asoka's "Queen's Edict."

² *Varikha* may be equated with *Varekṣa*, and taken to mean "one of excellent look."

No. V

**INSCRIPTION OF VAḌUKHA OR VARIKHA
IN THE CHOṬA-HĀTHIGUMPHĀ**

INSCRIPTION OF VAḌUKHA-VARIKHA

The following inscription noticed for the first time by Mr. A. E. Caddy, when he was taking casts of the inscriptions of this class for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, "consists," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "of a single line, very much mutilated, on the outer face of the tympanum of the arch over the doorway."

The text is based upon Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. IX, the cave called Choṭa-Hāthigumphā.

I regret that Caddy's cast of the inscription, which Mr. Banerji saw in the Calcutta Museum, is no longer to be seen there.

INSCRIPTION OF VADUKHA-VARIKHA

TEXT

१ १ kha १ १ १ sa ' leṇam [.]

1. Banerji doubtfully reads the first three letters as *Agikha*. The first letter might be read as *Va* or *Ta*, but never as *A*. The second letter looks like *ḍu* or *ri*, even like *ta* or *sa*, but never like *gi*. The letter after *kha* might be made out as *ka* or *ḷ[u]*. The next letter which was probably *mā* has been split up into two parts, one appearing as *dā* and the other as *na*. The letter immediately before *sa* seems to have been *ra*. I shall not be surprised if the record was meant to read *Vaḍukha* (*Varikha*) *kumārasa leṇam* [.]

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

?? ख ??? स लेणं [१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

?? ख ??? सस लेणं [१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

?? ख ??? स्य लयनं [१]

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of Prince Vaḍukha or Varikha (?).

No. VI

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA
OVER THE DOORWAY OF THE SARPA-GUMPHĀ OR
SNAKE-CAVE

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA

The following "inscription, consisting of one line, is incised," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "over the doorway of the Sarpagumphā, which is very close to the Baḍā-Hāthigumphā (No. 14 of the plan published in the Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri)."

Regarding the cave which is a notable excavation on Udayagiri, Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30, says :

"Retracing our steps now to the west of the Hāthi-Gumphā, the first cave worthy of notice occurs on the most protruding ledge of the fracture between the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills. It is remarkable for having in front, on the top of its entrance, a rude carving of the hood of a three-headed cobra, whence its name Ajāgara-Gumphā—*ajāgara*, a serpent able to swallow (gara) a goat (ajā). Under the hood of the serpent, the cave is cut in the form of a cube of 4 ft. with a door just large enough to admit a man crawling in, and framed in the usual style."

For a similar authentic description of Sarpa-Gumphā, see Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains—Ancient and Mediæval*, p. 46, where one reads :

"It is a small cave consisting of a single cell and a verandah ; the latter having in the front tympanum of the door, the carving of the hood of a three-headed serpent, and hence the name. The level of the verandah is higher than the ground in front. Drs. Fergusson and Burgess (in their *Cave Temples of India*, p. 697), have taken the Tiger and the Serpent Caves to be 'the oldest sculptured caves in the hills.' This cave is important for containing an inscription, which, however, does not throw any light on the probable date of its construction."

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 1 called Snake-Cave ; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30 ; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 2 called Snake-Cave ; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1349 : Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. I, Vol. IV, Cave called Sarpagumphā ; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA

TEXT

Cūlaka[m]masa¹ Koṭhājeyā² ca [pasādo]³ [.]

1. In Dutta's inked impression, the letter *u* appears to be *le*, the letter *ka* to be *ko*, and the letter *ma* to be *me* or *mo*. These vowel-marks must at once be dismissed as chisel-marks or fissures. Kittoe need not be blamed for having represented *kaṃmasa* as *kaṃmesa*. Cunningham reads *Culakaṃmasa*. But the *ū*-mark attached to the first letter is prominent. Sten Konow says, "The first word looks like *Cūlakemesa*, owing to the abrasions on the inscribed surface. The estampage seems to read *Cūlakremesa*."

2. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra read *koṭhājayā*. Cunningham reads *kothājayā*; Lüders, *koṭhājeyā*; and Banerji, *koṭhājeyā*.

3. The occurrence of the Copulative Conjunction *ca* is indicative of the loss of another word, which seems to be no other than *pasādo*=*pāsādo*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

चूलक ['] मस कोठाजिया च [पसादो] [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

चूलकम्मस्स कोट्ठाजिय्या च पासादो [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

चुद्रकर्मस्य कोष्ठोज्येश्व [प्रासादः] [1]

TRANSLATION

The façade¹ and the unconquerable² cells (which are the meritorious works) of Cūlakamma (Kṣudrakarma).³

1. Banerji agrees with Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Cunningham in rendering *pasāda* (= *pāsāda*) 'temple or palace.' But it seems that a temple or palace is too high an honour to be accorded, in all cases, to any part of a cave-construction. What seems to have been meant by *pasāda* or *pāsāda* here is a frontal outer construction consisting of a roofed, pillared and ornamented verandah and having the appearance of a palace. *Pasāda* or *Pāsāda* is the same word in sound and meaning as *façade*.

2. *Koṭhājeyā* is treated as a *sandhi* joining *koṭhā* and *ajeyā*. Here 'unconquerable,' as suggested by Prinsep, rather means 'impregnable, than 'unequalled' or 'unsurpassable.' Banerji observes : " *Koṭhā* and *jeyā* have been separated by Dr. Lüders, most probably because (the compound *koṭhājeyā*) is followed by the conjunction *ca*, *koṭhā*, Sk. *Koṭṭha*, is still in use in modern vernaculars to denote a brick or stone-built house or chamber, or even a fort. *Jeyā* may have a technical meaning and may denote the verandah or some other part, while *koṭhā* denotes the main chamber. But it is also possible to take it in another way, in which there is a *sandhi* between this word and *ajeyā*, 'unconquerable,' qualifying *koṭha* or *koṭhā*. The only difficulty is the use of the conjunction." The suggested difficulty can be removed, if it be assumed that the conjunction was followed by a word like *pasālo* or *pāsādo*. It is quite possible that *jeyā* is a separate technical term denoting some kind of building work. Cf. *jeyakaḥ kārāpitaḥ* in the inscription No. V from Northern Gujarāt, EI, Vol. II. The term *koṭhājeyā* may be taken to mean either 'a cellular shed' or 'chambers with arched entrances.'

3. According to Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and F. W. Thomas, *Cūlakamma* = *Cūḍākarma*, which is apparently absurd. I agree with Lüders in equating the Prakrit form of the name with the Sk. *Kṣudrakarma*.

No. VII

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA
IN PĀVANA-GUMPHĀ OTHERWISE CALLED
HARIDĀS-GUMPHĀ.

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA

The following "record," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "consists of a single line and is incised over one of the three entrances to the main chamber of the cave from the verandah. The characters belong to the first century B. C. and are distinctly later in form than those of the Mañcapurī inscriptions (meaning Nos. II-IV)."

Of the cave itself which is an excavation on the Udayagiri hill, we have the following useful information from Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30 :

"Immediately to the north of the Elephant-Cave (Hāthi-Gumphā) there is a small excavation which is known under the name of Pāvana-Gumphā or the 'Cave of Purification.' It is of no importance whatever as a work of art."

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 5 called Pawan-Cave; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 6 called Pawan-Cave; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1353, Cave called Haridās-gumphā; Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. VI, Cave called Haridās Cave; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF CŪLAKAMMA

TEXT

Cūlaka[ṃ]masa¹ pasāto² koṭhāje(yā)³ ca⁴ [.]

1. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra read *Culakamasa*. Cunningham reads *Cūlakraṃmasa*; Banerji *Cūlakramasa*. I cannot conceive of the occurrence of a letter, such as *kra*, in this series of Jain Cave inscriptions.

2. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra read *paseta*. Kittoe's facsimile has *pasetā*, Cunningham and Banerji read *pasāto*. The correct reading must be either *pasāto* or *pasātā*, *pasāto* deserving to be treated as a noun, which is the equivalent of *pasādo* (or *pāsādo*), and *pasātā* deserving to be treated as an adjective qualifying *koṭhā*.

3. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra read *Koṭhāja(yā)*. Cunningham reads *koṭhāja*. Lüders reads *koṭhājeyā*; Banerji *Koṭhājeyā*.

4. If it be that a word is effaced after the conjunction *ca*, the reading of the inscription must be this: Cūlaka[ṃ]masa pasātā koṭhāje(yā) ca [pasādo] [.] the word *pasātā* being an adjective qualifying *koṭhā*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

चूलक[']मस पसातो कोठाजेया च [।]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

चूलकस्स पासादो कोट्ठाजेया च [।]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

चुद्रकर्मस्य प्रासादः कोष्ठजेयस्य [।]

TRANSLATION

The façade¹ and the unconquerable cells (which are the meritorious works) of Kṣudrakarma.

1. In the cast, as well as in Hari Das Dutta's estampage, the word is *pasāto*. There is absolutely no *ā*-mark in the first letter. If *pasāto* be a phonetic equivalent of *pasādo*, and the clear estampage of this inscription guarantee the certainty of the reading *pasāto*, it is to be seen whether *pasāto* or *pasādo* is the same word as *pāsādo* or *prāsādaḥ*, or it is a word to be equated with a word like *pracchadaḥ*, meaning a projecting cover, that is, a 'verandah with an overhanging roof.' Sten Konow suggests : "If we should read *pasādo* (or *pasāto*), this word is perhaps Sk. *prasāda*, a gift." To my mind, the use of the word in the sense of a gift is altogether out of the question. Such a word with such a meaning cannot fit in with the context.

No. VIII

INSCRIPTION OF KAMMA AND KHĪṆĀ

TO THE LEFT OF THE

DOORWAY OF THE SARPA-GUMPHĀ OR SNAKE-CAVE

INSCRIPTION OF KAMMA-KHĪṆĀ

The following "record," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "consists of two lines and the characters used in it are about a century later in date than those of the other epigraph in this cave (Sarpagumphā). The characters belong to the first century B.C."

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, Pl LVII, Cave No. 2 called Snake-cave; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 3 called Snake-Cave; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1350; and Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji, in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. I, Cave called Sarpagumphā.

INSCRIPTION OF KAMMA-KHĪNĀ

TEXT

Kaṃmasa¹ (koṭhā)² ca Khī-[l l]-ṇ(ā)ya³ ca⁴ pasādo⁵ [.] [l 2].

1. Prinsep wrongly reads *Kamesa*. Kitter's facsimile has *Kamasa*. Cunningham reads *Kamase*; Banerji correctly, *Kaṃmasa*.

2 & 3. Prinsep reads *rikhinaya*; Cunningham, *ra .khi Naya(co)*; Banerji, *Halakhinaya*. Dutta's estampage yields, at first sight, the reading suggested by Banerji: *Halakhinaya* = Sk. *Ślakṣṇāyāḥ* (F. W. Thomas), = doubtfully *Harakina* (Lüders). But it is certain that the letter after *khī* is *ṇa* or *ṇ[ā]*. Examining Dutta's estampage closely, I detect that the second letter is *ṭhā*.

4. Kitter's facsimile has *ce*, and Cunningham's hand-copy *co*. The *o*-mark appears also in Dutta's inked impression, which is undoubtedly an abrasion. Banerji correctly reads *ca*.

5. Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Cunningham read *pasāde*, which is incorrect. Kitter's facsimile has *pasādo*. Dutta's estampage, too, yields the reading *pasādo*. Sten Konow remarks: "The plate (reproducing Dutta's estampage) has, however, *pāsāde* though the *ā*-stroke is indistinct and perhaps erased."

INSCRIPTION OF KAMMA-KHĪNĀ

TEXT

Kammasa¹ (koṭhā)² ca Khī-[l l]-ṇ(ā)ya³ ca⁴ pasādo⁵ [.] [1 2].

1. Prinsep wrongly reads *Kamesa*. Kittoe's facsimile has *Kamasa*. Cunningham reads *Kamase*; Banerji correctly, *Kaṇimasa*.

2 & 3. Prinsep reads *rikhinaya*; Cunningham, *ra...khi Naya(co)*; Banerji, *Halakhinaya*. Dutta's estampage yields, at first sight, the reading suggested by Banerji: *Halakhinaya* = Sk. *Ślakṣṇāyāḥ* (F. W. Thomas), = doubtfully *Harakina* (Lüders). But it is certain that the letter after *khī* is *ṇa* or *ṇ[ā]*. Examining Dutta's estampage closely, I detect that the second letter is *ṭhā*.

4. Kittoe's facsimile has *ce*, and Cunningham's hand-copy *co*. The *o*-mark appears also in Dutta's inked impression, which is undoubtedly an abrasion. Banerji correctly reads *ca*.

5. Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Cunningham read *pasāde*, which is incorrect. Kittoe's facsimile has *pasādo*. Dutta's estampage, too, yields the reading *pasādo*. Sten Konow remarks: "The plate (reproducing Dutta's estampage) has, however, *pāsādo* though the *ā*-stroke is indistinct and perhaps erased."

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

कर्मस कोठा च खीणाय च पसादो [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

कम्मस्स कोट्ठा च खीणाय च पासादो [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

कर्मस्य कोष्ठश्च क्षीणायश्च प्रासादः [1]

TRANSLATION

The cells (which are excavations) of Karma and the façade (which is a meritorious work) of Khīṇā.¹

1. Accepting the reading *Halakhinaya*, one must render the record : "The cells (or chambers which are excavations) of Karma and Ślakṣṇā.

No. IX

**INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTI
IN THE VYĀGHRA-GUMPHĀ OR TIGER-CAVE**

INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTI

The following "record is incised," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "on the outer wall of the inner chamber of the Bāgh or Tiger cave (No. 15 of the plan published in the Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri). It consists of two lines. The characters used are as old as the inscriptions in the Mañcapuri cave and belong to the second century B.C."

Of the Bāgh-Gumphā or Tiger-cave which is an excavation on the Udayagiri, we have the following interesting description in Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 31 :—

"In size it is similar to the (Alakāpura cave), but its exterior is cut into the shape of a tiger's head. The distended jaws of the animal form the *verandah*, and the entrance to the cell occupies the place of the gullet. The head is remarkably well-formed, and the chiselling is excellent. By the right of the entrance (we have) a short inscription in the Lāṭī (Aśokan) character."

For a similar description of the cave, see Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains—Ancient and Medieval*, pp. 45-46, where one reads : "The Tiger cave, on the west of the Hāti Gumphā is a small one consisting of a *verandah*, and a single cell. It is situated higher up the hill than the Ganeśa or the Hāti Gumphā. The roof of the front *verandah* is formed by the upper jaw of the animal. In this cave, the eye, nose and upper jaw of the tiger have been represented ; the two canine teeth on the two sides of the incisors have been shown ; the number of incisors is greater than what is noticed in the animals of the feline species. The cell is provided with one door flanked by pilasters resting on raised platforms and surmounted by a semi-circular arch-band."

For a short description of the cave, see Dr. W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal, District of Puri and the Orissa Tributary States*, p. 73.

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in J A S B, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 5, called Tiger-cave ; Rājendra Lāla Mitra's copy of Prinsep's transcript in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 31 ; Alexander Cunningham's handcopy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII,

Cave No. 4, called Tiger-cave ; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1351 ; Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. 7, Cave called Bāgh or Tiger Cave ; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The inscription is interposed between two symbols, a tree-symbol representing a *vrkṣa-caitya* or woodland-shrine and marking the commencement, and a *Svastika* marking the close.

INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTI

TEXT

Nagara¹-akhadaṃsa-[1 1]-sa² Bhūtino³ loṇaṃ⁴ [.] [1 2].

1. Prinsep, Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Cunningham read *Ugara*. Lüders and Banerji correctly read *Nagara*.

2. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra wrongly read *avedasa*, *aveda* being taken to mean an anti-Vedist, and the Genitive case-ending *sa* being regarded as the initial of the donor's name which they read *Sasupi*. Cunningham reads *akhadasa* and Banerji, *akhadaṃsa*, both agreeing with Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra in treating the sixth case-ending *sa* as the initial of the donor's name which they read *Sabhūti* (Subhūti). Lüders correctly reads *akhadaṃsasa*. Banerji's argument is : " There is plenty of space after the last letter of the first line and so it cannot be said that the possessive case-ending had to be incised in the lower line for want of space. Generally a mason does not mutilate words when there is no dearth of space." Sten Konow's counter-argument is : " The two lines have been kept of the same length, and that is apparently the reason why the termination of *akhadaṃsasa* has been written in L 2." I find that, in spite of there being no dearth of space, the mason has written, in one of the Barhut inscriptions, the sixth case-ending in L 2 (Hultzsch's *Barhut Inscriptions* in I. A. Vol. XXI, No. 90) :

(1) *Bhadata—Budharakhitasa Saṭupadāna-*

(2) *sa dānaṃ thabho.*

3. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra read *Sasuvin* ; Cunningham and Banerji, *Sabhūtino*. Lüders correctly reads *Bhūtino*. Caddy's cast, which I have carefully examined, clearly bears out Lüders reading.

4. Prinsep and Rājendra Lāla Mitra wrongly read *loṇaṃ*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

नगर-अखदंसस भूतिनो लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

नगर-अक्खदस्सस्स भूतिनो लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

नगर-अक्षदर्सस भूतिः लयनं [1]

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is an excavation) of the Town-judge ¹ Bhūti.

¹ *Nagara-akhadaṃsa* is obviously the same official designation as *Nagara.Vijayālaka* or *Mahāmāta-Nagalaḥa* in Aśoka's First Separate Rock Edict, and *Nāgarika* or *Nāgarika-Māhamātra* in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya-Kauṭalya, Bk. II, Ch. 36 and Bk. IV, Ch. 6.

No. X

**INSCRIPTION OF NĀKIYA
IN THE JAMBĒSVARA CAVE**

INSCRIPTION OF NĀKIYA

The following "record is incised," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "over one of the entrances to the inner chamber of the Jambheśvara Cave (No. 16 of the plan published in the Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri). The characters of the inscription are of the same age as those used in the Mañcapuri inscriptions." The cave itself is one of the excavations on the Udayagiri hill.

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read and reproduced by James Prinsep in *J A S B*, old series, Vol. VI, Pl. LVII, Cave No. 4, termed a nameless cave ; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 5, termed a nameless cave ; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1352 ; and Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khadagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. 8, Cave called Jambheśvara ; and, above all, A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTION OF NĀKIYA

TEXT

Mahāmadasa ¹ Bāriyāya ² Nākiyasa ³ leṇa[m] ⁴ [.]

1. Prinsep reads *Māpāmaḍātī*; Cunningham, *Māpāmadāsa*; Lüders, *Mahāmadasa*; Banerji, *Mahāmadasa*. Banerji is of opinion that the *ā* in *dā* is superfluous. I think that the *ā*-stroke is an appearance rather than a reality.

2. Prinsep reads *bākāya* (Ya); Cunningham, *bāriyāya*; Lüders, *bāriyāya*; Banerji, too, *bāriyāya*, treating it as a mistake for *bhāriyāya*. I take *Bāriyā* to be the name of a locality, the native place of the donor, or the name of a lady donor.

3. Prinsep reads (Ya)*nākiyasa*; Lüders, *Nākiyasa*, Cunningham and Banerji correctly read *Nākiyasa*. *Nākī*, according to Lüders, or *Nākiya*, according to Banerji, is the name of the wife of Mahāmada. Had it been so, there would have been a feminine Genitive case-ending *āya* in the declension of *Nākī* or *Nākiya*. But we have, instead of *Nākiyāya*, a masculine Genitive form *Nākiyasa*. I take *Nākiya* to be the name of the donor, *Bāriyā* to be his native place, and *Mahāmada* to be his official designation, or all the three of them to be personal names.

4. Prinsep wrongly reads *leṇa*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

महामदस बारियाय नाकियस लेण['] [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

महामत्तस्स (महामदस्स इति वा) बारियाय नागितस्स लेणं [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

महामात्रस्य (महामदस्य इति वा) बार्थ्यायाः नाक्यस्य लयनम् [1]

TRANSLATION *

The cave (which is an excavation) of the High Functionary ¹ Nākiya ² of Bāriyā.³

* Another possible rendering is :—

“ *The cave (which is an excavation) of Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya.*”

1. Both Lüders and Banerji take *Mahāmada* to be the personal name of a man whose wife 'Nākī or *Nākiya* dedicated the cave in question. *Mahāmada* seems to me to be the same official designation as the Pāli *Mahāmatta* or the Sk. *Mahāmātra*, which literally means “ Great-measure ” or “ Magnate.”

2. *Nākiya* is evidently the same name as the Pāli *Nāgita*.

3. I am unable to identify the locality. It must be some place, a village or a town in Kalipga

No. XI

INSCRIPTION ON THE ARCHITRAVE
OUTSIDE THE ANANTA-GUMPHĀ

ANANTA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

The following "inscription is incised," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "on the architrave outside, between the left antæ and the first pillar. The characters of this inscription are certainly later than those used in the inscription in Tatwa Cave, No. 2. No other notice of this inscription has been published except that which has appeared in Mr. Mon Mohan Chakravartti's *Notes on the Remains in Dhauli and in the Caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri*."

The following description of the cave with which the inscription is associated is an extract from Mr. Manu Mohon Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains—Ancient and Medieval*, pp. 56-60 :—

"The Ananta-Gumphā (which is the most important cave on the Khandagiri Hill) consists of an ante-chamber (24' × 7') having a covered verandah 26' × 7' in front. The ceiling of the chamber at the rear is curved, the rise of the arch or curve being about a foot; originally there were four doors leading to the room; these have been reduced to two doors, and one window. The doorways are surmounted by circular arches ending in horizontal bands at the springing. Two fillets of the circular band enclose ornamental figures. The horizontal friezes resemble those noticed in Rāṇī Nūr and Ganeśa Cave. The crown of the arches is formed by the interlaced tails of serpents." "A long line of Buddhist rails runs over the arches unlike those in Rāṇī Nūr and Ganeśa cave broken at intervals by battlemented pyramids, the like of which we notice in the Bharhut sculptures. On the back wall of the ante-chamber are carved the characteristic Bauddha symbols of Swastika, Triśūla, etc., and also a standing figure of Buddha (?). The tympana of the arches are carved with representations of various scenes. The scene of Gaja-Lakṣmī...is exquisitely beautiful..... The pilasters by the sides of the doorways have striking features characterised by animal capitals and a profusion of sculptures not noticed elsewhere in the locality."

"We agree with Drs. Fergusson and Burgess in detecting similarity between the sculptures of the Ananta-Gumphā and those of the Bharhut Stūpa, built sometime between the 2nd and 3rd cent. B.C.....the probable period of the excavation of the cave cannot be earlier than the third

century B.C., and not second or third century A.D. as fixed by Beglar in the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII (p. 81)."

The text is based upon Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. XI, the cave called Anantagumphā, and A. E. Caddy's cast preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

ANANTA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

TEXT

[—————]¹ ???² saman[ā]nam³ leṇam [.]

1. The letters representing the opening words of the inscription are irrevocably lost.
2. The stone is peeled off and shows just the sockets of three letters which are read by Banerji as *Dohada*. I doubt very much the correctness of such a reading. Any one attempting to guess the letters from the outlines of the sockets is apt to glide into a fatal error. Anyhow, the outline of the first socket resembles rather that of *sa* than that of *do*. *Kalīṅga* or *Kālīṅga* is the word which may be supposed to have preceded *samavānam* in an inscription of this kind.
3. *samavānam* in Dutta's estampage.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

[—]??? समण[१]नं लेणं[१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

[—]??? समणानं लेणं [१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

[—]??? अमणानां लयनम् [१]

TRANSLATION

The cave (which is excavated for) the recluses [of Kalinga?] [———].

No. XII
INSCRIPTION ON THE ROCK
OUTSIDE THE VERANDAH OF
THE ANANTA-GUMPHĀ

ANANTA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

The following "record," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "is incised on the rock outside the verandah of the Anantagumphā."

The text is based upon Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in EI, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1343; Mon Mohan Chakravartti's *Notes on the Remains in Dhauli and in the Caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri*; and Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. XII, Cave called Anantagumphā.

ANANTA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

TEXT

[—]¹ ko(th)āje(yā) ²[—]³ [.]

1. It may be safely assumed that a few letters recording the name of the donor or donors are missing.

2. Mon Mohan Chakrabartti reads *Dajacāra*. Banerji differing, remarks: "It is really something like a mason's mark. There are three symbols, of which a central one is the Brāhmī letter *ja*, while the other two may resemble, but are not, letters." It is not too much to say that Banerji's is a cheap explanation, which has the merit of avoiding any difficulty that confronts a man attempting to read an old Brāhmī inscription wherein the letters are effaced and obscured. As far as I can make out, the first letter is *ka* or *ko*. The second letter is a fissured *thā*. The third letter is distinctly *je*. And the fourth letter is an obscured *ya*.

3. If the proposed reading *koṭhājeyā* be correct, it is easy to understand that it was followed by the conjunction *ca* and a word like *pasādo* or *pāsādo*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

[...] कोठाजिया [—] [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

[...] कोट्ठाजिय्या [—] [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

[...] कोष्ठोजियः [—] [1]

TRANSLATION

The [—]unconquerable cells¹ (which are the meritorious works of) [—].

1. In commenting on *pasāta* and *koṭhā* occurring in the Inscription No. VII, Banerji observes: "It is interesting to note that here two words denoting almost the same thing, i.e., *pasāto* (Sk. *prāsāda* and *koṭhā* or *kotha*, have been used, and that we here find the word *pasādo*. The Sarpagumphā has only one small chamber but the Haridāsgumphā has a verandah, a large inner chamber with three doorways and one small side chamber on each side. So it is quite possible that the word *pasāto* refers to the main chamber and the word *koṭhā* to the side chambers." I am unable to accept such a suggestion for the simple reason that the word *koṭhā*, as plural form of *koṭha*, denotes all the cells or chambers, and that there is not a word to denote the verandah which is an outer construction.

No. XIII

INSCRIPTION IN THE TATTVA-GUMPHĀ No. 1

TATVA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

The following "inscription is written or painted," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "on the back wall of the inner chamber of the cave (the Tatwagumphā, No. 1), and on prolonged examination I found that, in addition to a row of letters which I cannot make out, it was a repetition of the Indian alphabet."

These observations of Mr. Banerji led me to examine Mr. Hari Das Dutta's estampage closely, and have ultimately enabled me to detect an inscription consisting of one line and a table of Brāhmī alphabet consisting of no less than six rows of letters. The table has been separately presented as the last of the present series (No. XV) of inscriptions in the caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills.

The text is based upon Hari Das Dutta's inked impression reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. XIII, Cave called Tatwagumphā No. 1.

TATTYA-GUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

TEXT

.....???? rīpu(tasa) kayā.....???? [.]

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

.....????रौपुतस कया... ??? [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

.....????रौपुत्तस्स कया (?)...???? [1]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

.....????रौपुत्रस्य कया (?)—???? [1]

No. XIV
INSCRIPTION OF KUSUMA
IN THE TATTVA-GUMPHĀ No. 2

INSCRIPTION OF KUSUMA

The following "inscription," says Mr. R. D. Banerji, "is the oldest of the inscriptions in the Khandagiri caves. Most of the caves on the Udayagiri are ancient, as proved by their inscriptions; but, with the exception of Tatwagumphā, No. 1, Tatwagumphā, No. 2 and Anantagumphā, all other Khandagiri caves appear to be mediæval, as the inscriptions in them are not earlier than the ninth or tenth century A. D. The record in this cave is incised over one of the entrances to the inner chamber and consists of one line. The cave is No. 1 of the plan of the Gazetteer (the Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri)."

The text is based upon Major Kittoe's facsimile read by James Prinsep in JASB, old series, Vol. VI, p. 1074; Alexander Cunningham's hand-copy reproduced in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, old series, Vol. I, Pl. XVII, Cave No. 1; Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions in EI*, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 1344; Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. X, Cave called Tatwagumphā, No. 2.



INSCRIPTION OF KUSUMA

TEXT

Pādamulikasa¹ Kusumasa² leṇ[ā]ni³ [.]

1. Prinsep and others correctly read *Pādamulikasa*. Kittoe's facsimile has °*kaśa*.
2. Kittoe's facsimile is responsible for Prinsep's reading *Kutamāsa* instead of *Kusumasa*. Banerji reads *Kusumasa*, and remarks that the ā-mark in *mā* is superfluous.
3. Prinsep wrongly reads *leṇam*. Banerji doubtfully reads *leṇa[ṇ]phi*, remarking that the last syllable (*phi*) in this record is superfluous and devoid of any significance. The cast in the Indian Museum clearly shows that the reading is nothing but *leṇani*.

TEXT AS IT READS IN THE ORIGINAL

पादमुल्लिकस कुसुमस लेण[१]नि [१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN PĀLI

पादमूल्लिकस्स कुसुमस्स लेणानि [१]

TEXT AS IT READS IN SANSKRIT

पादमूल्लिकस्य कुसुमस्य लेयनानि [१]

TRANSLATION

The caves (which are the excavations) of Kusuma of Pādamūlika.¹

1. *Pādamūlika* has been rightly explained by Banerji as signifying either the locality or the professional designation of the donor. As a professional designation, it cannot but mean a 'server of the feet,' that is, a menial. Accepting the second meaning of the word, I may render the record :—

"The caves (which are the excavations) of the menial Kusuma."

No. XY

**TABLE OF BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET
IN THE TATTVA-GUMPHĀ No. 1**

TABLE OF BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET

The following inscription containing a table of Brāhmī alphabet “ was noticed for the first time,” says Mr. R. D. Banerji, “by the late Mr. J. D. Beglar in 1882, who published an eye-copy of it with his report (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XIII, p. 82). But unfortunately the eye-copy was printed upside down. Mr. Monmohan Chakrabartti tried to read it from this plate, but apparently did not succeed. The whole inscription is written or painted on the back wall of the inner chamber of the cave, and on prolonged examination I found that, in addition to a row of letters which I cannot make out, it was a repetition of the Indian alphabet. Some young monk had used the back wall of the cell as a (slate or) copy-book and improved his knowledge of the alphabet by writing on it. The characters belong to the first century B. C. or first century A. D.”

The table is based upon Hari Das Dutta's inked impression read and reproduced by R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. XIII, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions*, Pl. II, No. XIII, Cave called Tatwagumphā No. 1.

TABLE OF BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET

1.kha ga gha? ca cha.....	¹
2.ṇa ta tha da dha na.....	
3.ṭa ta tha da dha na pa pha...śa ṣa sa ha.....	²
4.ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha...ṣa sa ha...	
5.ta tha da dha na pa pha ba...śa ṣa sa ha....	
6.ta tha.....	³

1. In L 1, Banerji reads just one letter, which is *gha*.
2. In L 3, Banerji does not read the two letters after *na*. They look like *ya* and *ra*, but they may be *pa* and *pha*.
3. In L 6, Banerji reads just the second letter.

NOTES

NOTES

1. THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR AUTHORS

Of the fifteen old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves, No. I is the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of King Khāravela; No. II, the Vaikuṇṭhapura Cave inscription of Khāravela's chief queen; No. III, the Pātālapura Cave inscription of King Kadampa-Kudepa; No. IV, the Yamapura Cave inscription of Prince Vaṣukha-Varikha; No. V, probably the Choṭa-Hāthigumphā inscription of the same prince; No. VI, the Sarpa-Gumphā inscription of Cūlakamma; No. VII, the Pāvana or Haridās-Gumphā inscription of the same donor; No. VIII, the Sarpa-Gumphā-side Cave inscription of Kamma and Khīṇā; No. IX, the Bāgh-Gumphā inscription of the Town-judge Bhūti; No. X, the Jambēśvara Cave inscription of the High-functionary Nākiya of Bāriyā, or it may be, of Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya; Nos. XI and XII, the Ananta-Gumphā inscriptions of some donors; No. XIII, the inscription of some donor in the Tattva-Gumphā No. 1; No. XIV, the inscription of the menial Kusuma, or it may be, of Kusuma of Pādamūla; and No. XV, a table of Brāhmī alphabet in the Tattva-Gumphā No. 1.

2. THE RELATIVE TOTAL OF THE CAVES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The fifteen inscriptions edited in the present volume, and arranged serially as No. I, No. II, and so forth, are the oldest known Brāhmī inscriptions which have hitherto been discovered as epigraphic records relating to different caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills in Orissa. The first ten of them belong to the caves on the Udayagiri and the remaining five to those on the Khaṇḍagiri hill.

Though, as a general rule, each of these inscriptions is meant to refer to a particular cave, it will be a mistake to presume that there are as many caves as inscriptions. For instance, there are two inscriptions, one of which (No. XI) is incised on the architrave outside the Ananta-Gumphā, and the other (No. XII) on the rock outside the verandah of the same cave. The concluding words of No. XI, *samaṇ[ā]naṃ leṇaṃ*,

refer to the cave as a cave (*leṇa*), and not in terms of its component parts, while the surviving word of No. XII, *koṭhājeyā*, refers to the cave not as a cave but in terms of its component parts. Here the presumption cannot but be that these two inscriptions, one referring to the cave in term of the whole and the other in terms of the parts, belong as well as refer to one and the same cave.

Secondly, there are two inscriptions in the Tattva-Gumphā No. 1, one of which (No. XIII) is meant to commemorate the name of the excavator of the cave, and the other (No. XV) to serve as a table of Brāhmī alphabet. In this particular instance, the two inscriptions belong to one cave, one referring to the cave as an excavation of some donor and the other serving altogether a different purpose.

Thus it may be shown that the total of the caves falls short of the total of the inscriptions at least by two, Nos. XI and XII being taken as referring to one and the same Ananta-Gumphā, and No. XV being left out of consideration as an alphabetic table.

We maintain that even further reduction of the total of the inscribed caves is possible. For No. XIV refers not to one cave but to caves in the plural number (*leṇāni*), which were all the excavations of Kusuma.

Why, it may be argued, if the inscription of Cūlakamma (No. V) is incised over the doorway of the Sarpa-Gumphā and that of Kamma and Khīṇā (No. VIII) to the left of the doorway of the same cave, should we not take these inscriptions as referring to one and the same cave? Here we have got to distinguish between "belonging to" and "referring to."

These two inscriptions belong to the Sarpa-Gumphā in the sense that both are incised over and to the left of the doorway of the same cave. But they refer to two caves, each cave in terms of its component parts, *koṭhājeyā* and *pasāda*. The incising over the doorway of the cave goes to show that the inscription of Cūlakamma is meant to refer to the Sarpa-Gumphā. The incising to the left of the doorway of this cave may be taken to indicate that the inscription of Kamma and Khīṇā is meant to refer to another cave, which lay on the left side of the Sarpa-Gumphā and would not at once be seen from its entrance. The Sarpa-Gumphā being unicellular and provided with one verandah, it is difficult to think that a second inscription was needed to refer to it in terms of its cell and verandah.

This argument may be substantiated by the study of a parallel case of the Mañcapurī group of three caves and three inscriptions. The inscription of Khāravela's chief queen (No. II) belongs and clearly refers to

the Vaikunṭhapura cave in the upper storey of the Mañcapurī group. The remaining two inscriptions are both incised in the verandah of the Pātālapura cave in the lower storey, the inscription of King Kadampa-Kudepa (No. III) being incised on a raised band between the middle pillars, and that of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha (No. IV) on the right wall of the verandah. Here the inscription of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha refers undoubtedly to the Yamapura cave forming the right wing of the Pātālapura. That is to say, two inscriptions belonging to one cave refer indeed to two caves.

The local tradition asserts that there were formerly about 750 caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills. This is surely a much exaggerated number, should it be treated as the total of the caves excavated during the reign of King Khāravela and thereabout. For we have a definite statement in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (No. I) regarding the total number of the caves excavated on these two hills during Khāravela's reign. In accordance with this statement, just 117 caves were constructed (*sata-dasa-śata-satam kūrāpitaṃ*) in the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign.

We cannot say that all the 117 caves were inscribed. If each one of them might be supposed to have an inscription referring to or labelling it, the total of the inscriptions would have been not less than 117. But if all of them were not inscribed, the total of the inscriptions must have been less than 117. Probably all or most of them were not inscribed. Even the famous Rāni Nūr or Queen's Palace is found without an inscription. Though the local tradition ascribes the construction of this cave-architecture to King Lālatendu-Keśari who reigned about the year A.D. 617, the general style of its architecture and the technique, motifs and other details of its *basso-relievo* are strongly in favour of dating it as old as the Tiger and other inscribed caves which may be supposed to have been excavated during the reign of Khāravela or thereabout. Moreover, many of the surviving caves being natural cavities little improved by human hand, are likely to have been left uninscribed.

In these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to think that the original total of the inscriptions stood far below that of the caves, although the exact ratio of the two totals cannot be determined, nor is it possible to say how many inscriptions have been actually lost due to the ravages of time.

In the Hāthi-Gumphā record of the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign, we read that His Majesty caused 117 caves to be constructed on the Kumārī hill, obviously a common name for designating the twin-hills of

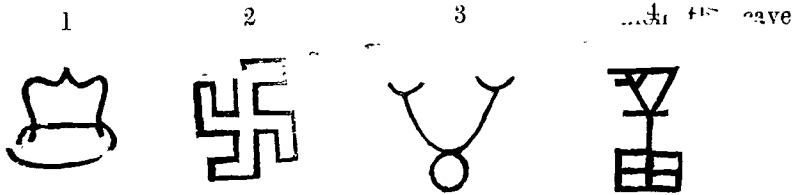
Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri by himself, by his queens, by his sons, by his relatives, by his brothers, and by the royal servants. Among the caves of his queens, we get just one inscribed cave of his chief queen ; among those of the princes, we get just two inscribed caves of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha ; so on and so forth.

It may be expected that at least those caves which were excavated by the members of Khāravela's royal family were inscribed. We mean that some at least of the inscriptions must have disappeared with the destruction of the ancient caves. And yet the fact would remain that the original total of the inscriptions stood far below that of the caves.

We have wrongly assumed so far as if the inscription of Khāravela (No. I) were meant to refer exclusively to one cave, namely, the Hāthi-Gumphā on the Udayagiri hill. It is far from being the case. It is not distinctly stated in the record of Khāravela's thirteenth regnal year how many out of 117 caves were constructed by His Majesty, how many by his queens, and how many by others. We would think that the majority of these caves were constructed on the strength of the donations made by His Majesty. We shall be doing injustice to him to suggest that the inscription standing in his name was meant to relate exclusively to a cave which is of little importance as a work of art. To suggest this is to leave the acclaimed costly and excellent works of art and architecture accomplished by him altogether unexplained. The so-called Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela was, indeed, meant to refer not to one cave but to all the works of art and architecture done by him on the twin-hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. As a matter of fact, the Hāthi-Gumphā record was meant to refer in a general way to all the 117 caves with their inscriptions and architectural constructions.

3. THE SYMBOLS

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravēla is enclosed between two pairs of symbols. Two symbols are to be seen on its left side, and two on its right. The first symbol on the left stands over against its second line. The fourth symbol on the right stands over against its seventeenth line. These two symbols were apparently intended to mark respectively the beginning and end of the inscription. The second symbol on the left appears below the first, and stands over against the fourth and fifth lines of the inscription. And the third symbol on the right appears at the end of and between the first and second lines of the inscription.



It is not correct to say that the third symbol appears immediately after the name of Khāravēla with which the first line terminates.¹ Even if this symbol figured just after the name of Khāravēla, I do not see how any importance might have been attached to it because of such a position. The symbol, as it now stands, seems to have been set off on the right against the first and second symbols on the left, as an equipoise. In theory, of the four symbols, the first and the fourth were intended to mark the commencement and close of the inscription, and the second and the third to stand, somewhere in the middle, on two sides, enclosing the inscription between them. I believe that this arrangement would not have been departed from, if the right upper corner had not appeared bare as a result of the third symbol having been placed far below the position in which it appears.

What are these four symbols? The first symbol is what the Jains call *Faddha-maṅgala* translated by Dr. Coomarswamy as "Powder-box." The second symbol is the well-known *Svastika*. The third symbol is what has been labelled as *Nandipada* or "Bull's foot-mark" in a Buddhist

1. Jayaswal says, "This symbol is inscribed just after the name of Khāravēla in the first line." JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 425.

inscription on the Padaṇa hill near Kanheri.¹ The fourth symbol is what may be aptly described as *Rukhha-cetiya* or *Vṛkṣa-caitya*, "Tree-device" or "Woodland-shrine."

The first symbol, which looks like a modern crown² figures, as pointed out by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji in sculptured decorations carved over the doorway arches in some of the Udayagiri caves. It is one of the auspicious devices adorning the doorway of a Jain cave at Junāgaḍ. It stands over the third figure on the Sāñchi gateway. It is found in some of the Buddhist cave inscriptions in Western India, e.g., in the second inscription at Junnar, the first inscription at Karle and the third inscription at Bhāja.³ It is not uncommon in necklaces (*candrahāra*). It is still very popular as one of the *aṣṭa maṅgalas* or "eight auspicious symbols" among the Jains in whose modern representation, it appears as "a beautiful bowl with a rim surmounted with three pinnacles."⁴

What this first symbol actually signifies *nāṅgar* tell. Nothing is to be inferred as to its meaning from the name *Vaddha-maṅgala* offered by the Jains. With regard to its external feature, the Jain *śāstra* describes it as *vaddha* or "closed," and the modern scholars as a "shield," or a *Trisūla*, or a *tri-ratna* device,⁵ or a "powder-box." These do not carry us far. But it may be worth while to inquire if any clue might be obtained from the study of some of the devices on the ancient punch-marked coins. On some of these coins, the second, third and fourth symbols of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription appear around and in association with a device which Sir Alexander Cunningham took to be a representation of Mount Meru, and other numismatists take to be the representation of a mountain. On some of these coins, this device occurs alone, and on some, it figures in association with one or another of the second, third and fourth symbols of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. A prototype of this device is met with on the Sohgaura copper-plate where it appears in the middle in association with the third and fourth symbols of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription and with a crescent-mark in its upper curve. So far as this copper-plate and the punch-marked coins are concerned, I have been strongly inclined to explain it as signifying a caravan-camp

1. JBDRAS, XV, p. 320.

2. JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 428.

3. Archaeological Survey of Western India, separate pamphlet, X, pp. 23, 28, 42.

4. JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 429.

5. Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 40.

under a canopy. This explanation of mine has been partly based upon a Buddhist description in the Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka (Fausböll's No. 2) of a caravan journey across a desert.

Though there are some points of likeness between this device and the first symbol in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, the two are not identical. Nor does it appear that the same symbolic device suggested the same idea to all and in all connexions.

As regards the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, I would, for a proper consideration of their nature, divide the four symbols into two groups, one group consisting of the first and fourth symbols, and the other of the second and third. Taking the first and fourth symbols, one may not be far wrong, I believe, in thinking that these were designed, in this particular connexion, to represent a hilly woodland in which the cave with its inscription was situated. The naming of a hill-cave by a tree adjoining it was an ancient convention, which is evident from the names of certain caves in some of the old inscriptions, e.g., *Nigohā-kubhā*, "the Banyan cave," in the first Barābar Hill Cave inscription of Aśoka, and *Imḍasāla-guhā*, "the *Shorea Robusta* Cave," in one of the Barhut inscriptions.

Similarly taking the second and third symbols together, it may be said that, whatever may be their origin, as they stand in this inscription, they are intended to convey respectively the idea of *svasti* (well-being), and that of *maṅgala* (victory). The association of these two ideas in Buddhism, and *a posteriori* in Jainism, is clearly brought out in the concluding verse of the Pāli Maṅgala-Sutta which reads as follows :—

Etādisāni katvāna sabbattham aparājitā |

Sabbattha sotthiṃ gacchanti, taṃ tesam maṅgalamuttamanti ||

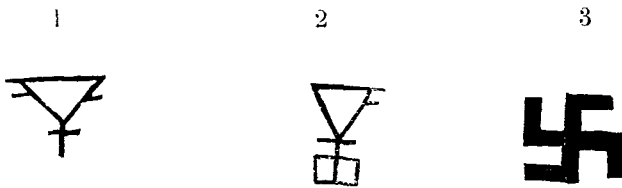
If the Jains and Buddhists associated these two symbols to convey the ideas of *svasti* and *maṅgala*, one need not be surprised if the Vedic religionist associated them to convey his ideas of auspiciousness. I mean to say that Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's suggestion, that these two symbols served, perhaps, as epigraphic devices for representing the mystical formula "OM," need not be dismissed as a mere ingenuity.

There are divergent theories regarding the origin of these two symbols, which are, however, too well-known to need repetition. For a general information about the *Svastika* symbol, the reader is referred to

Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji's note in *Actes du Sixieme congres International des Orientalistes*, Part III, p. 137. And for the discussion of different theories about the origin and explanations of the form of the *Nandipada* symbol, he is referred to Dr. Fleet's paper on the Sohgaura copper-plate inscription which he published in JRAS, 1907, pp. 529-32.

Regarding the second of these two symbols, it remains to be seen whether its name *Nandipada* was suggested in the Buddhist inscription from its external resemblance with the bull's foot-mark or from some other circumstance. There is something to be said for the second alternative. The *Cullakālīṅga-Jātaka* (Fausböll's No. 301) says that the tutelary god of Kalinga was represented in the shape of "a white bull," and that of Assaka in the shape of "a black bull." Dr. Indraji is right to say that the Buddhists, giving it the name *Nandipada*, meant to represent it as a "Bull symbol," and not as a mere "foot-mark of a bull."

One tree-symbol marks the beginning of the inscription of Kamma and Khīṇā in the Snake Cave (No. VIII), and another tree symbol that of the inscription of the Town judge Bhūti in the Tiger Cave (No. IX). These two symbols are just two different varieties of the fourth symbol in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. The inscription in the Tiger Cave has, indeed, a second symbol at its end. It is again a *Svastika* mark carved in a somewhat different form. These three symbols appear as represented in the following table:—



4. THE LETTER-FORMS

In the present edition we have so arranged the fifteen old records in a progressive numerical order as to make No. I, the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela, to appear as the peg, and to make the rest, Nos. II-XV, to appear as hanging upon No. I. Looked at from this point of view, Nos. II-XV, are to be taken as subservient to No. I, which is the principal record. In our plan, Khāravela's Hāthi-Gumphā record stands first and the Table of Brāhmī Alphabet stands last, the series starting from the former and being closed by the latter. Considered in the light of this plan, a special importance has been meant to be attached to the first, as well as to the last number of the series. The special importance of the first is that it furnishes the key to the appreciation of the contents of the records, Nos. II-XIV; and the special importance of the last is that it furnishes the key to the understanding of the letter-forms of the preceding records, Nos. I-XIV.

The table is found on the back wall of the inner chamber of the Tattva-Gumphā. No. 1. It presents some six straight rows of Brāhmī letters carefully incised one below the other and all below the inscription attached to the cave. The succession of the letters that may yet be read, especially in the right half of the table, indicates that in each row a complete set of the Brāhmī alphabet was intended to be shown, and that the letters were meant to be alphabetically arranged, each set beginning with the letter *a* and ending with the letter *ha*.

Mr. R. D. Banerji seems to think that the dressed surface of the wall of the cave was used by a young monk as a sort of copy-book for improving his knowledge of the alphabet by writing on it. This is, no doubt, a very plausible explanation for the possibility of the table as it is. It also might be that the mason who was employed to incise the inscription, after having incised the short inscription of one or two lines, found sufficient unfilled space on the dressed surface which he eventually thought of filling up with the rows of Brāhmī letters. That the table was the manipulation of a practised hand cannot at all be doubted. And the practising hand of a young monk cannot be expected to have produced such a good specimen.

As bad luck would have it, not a single row of letters in the table is legible to-day from beginning to end, and not a single row can be wholly deciphered. The consequence is that, as regards orthography, we cannot

say precisely how many vowel-letters were incised in each row. That the vowel-signs were not separately shown and that, at least, these vowel-letters, *ā*, *i*, *ē*, *u*, *ū*, *e* and *o*, were incised in each row may be taken for granted. In the texts of the old Brāhmī inscriptions, we have the use of the following vowel-letters and vowel-signs:—

- (1) Vowel-letters—*a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ai* (?), and *o*;
- (2) Vowel-signs for *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e* and *o*.

Precisely from what period of time the Brāhmī alphabet was adapted to the needs of Sanskrit language we do not know. If Mr. Jayaswal's "Sunga Inscription of Ayodhya" may be presumed to have been incised actually during the reign of Puṣyamitra, or, at least, during the Sunga reign, the second century B. C. is the earliest period to which the date of a Sanskrit record in Brāhmī characters can be pushed. But the Junāgaḍ inscription of Rudradāman I (*circa* 150 A. D.) is certainly the earliest known lengthy Sanskrit royal record in Brāhmī characters.

In accordance with a statement in the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya-Kauṭalya, the orthography of royal writs (in Sanskrit) comprised some sixty-three letters.¹ The commentator accounts for this total by the summation of twenty-two letters for representing the vowel-sounds and forty-one for representing the consonant-sounds.² Thus the dictum in the Artha-Śāstra might be taken to imply that, at the time of its compilation, twenty-two was the conventional maximum of the total of vowel-letters required for orthography of royal writs (in Sanskrit). But, in reality, Kauṭilya-Kauṭalya thought not so much of the orthography of the royal writs as of the letters, signs and notations of Sanskrit phonology. The notations required for representing nine *pluta-svaras* were quite out of place in the general orthography of Sanskrit royal writs. Leaving aside the nine *pluta-svaras*, we get thirteen as the conventional maximum total of Sanskrit vowels.³ It is impossible to think that the orthography of the Tattva-Gumpha table comprised so many letters as were required to represent all the thirteen Sanskrit vowels. Here the important inquiry is whether this orthography included in it the letters required for representing the two diphthongs, *ai* and *au*, or

1. Artha-Śāstra, II, 9, 28: *Akṣāṅśaṃ varṇāḥ trīsasthi*.

2. Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya, edited by Ganapati Sastri, Part I, p. 170.

3. Ganapati Sastri's edition of the Artha-Śāstra, Part I, p. 170: *Duḥghāḥ svarāṇām tatvāṣṭau, pañca hrasvāḥ, pluta nava*.

not. The point might be partly decided if we could ascertain that *Airena* was the opening word of the main portion of the text of Khāravēla's inscription.

The first letter of the opening word, as it appears in the plaster-casts and estampages, is the diphthong *ai*, and we have agreed with Mr. Jayaswal and others in reading the opening word as *Airena*, and have differed from Mr. R. D. Banerji who proposed to read *Kharena*, as well as from Sir Alexander Cunningham who read it as *Verena*. As we have noted, the name of the king of Utkala who defeated king Nauda in a battle was known to the author of the Sanskrit verses, quoted by Mr. Jayaswal from an Old Oriyā MS. of the 14th or 16th century A. D., to be *Aira* and *Ahira*. If *Airena* be at all a correct reading, one must not forget that it is the only instance where a Brāhmī letter representing the diphthong *ai* is met with in our old Brāhmī inscriptions.

But our faith in the correctness of the above reading has, to a large extent, been shaken by the consideration of two facts, one brought to our notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and the other gleaned by us. Sir Alexander has pointed out that *Vera* in the sense of *Vīra* (Heroic) occurs as a royal epithet in some of the coin-legends of Ancient India. And we find, in corroboration of the soundness of Cunningham's argument, that the first letter of the opening word of Khāravēla's inscription exactly resembles the first letter of a proper name in the two Pabhosa inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena, which the epigraphists have agreed to read as *Vaihidari*. It is certain that the first letter of *Vaihidari* could not be read other than as *Vai*. If the first letter were meant to be read as *Ai*, we would have found the letter *e* with one *e*-sign attached to it instead of a letter resembling *e* with two *e*-signs. But for these two *e*-signs attached to the first letter, the name would have been read as *Vehidari*. If this be correct, it goes without saying that the Brāhmī letters to represent the diphthongs, *ai* and *au*, were unnecessary for incising our old Brāhmī inscriptions. Further, we should remember that there was no occasion for the scribe or scribes of our old Brāhmī inscriptions to make use of the *ai* or *au* sign. These signs were, indeed, needed for incising the Barhut E. Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti and the Pabhosa inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena, for inscribing such words as *panteṇa* and *Vaihidari*.

Apparently the number of consonants represented in the Tattva-Gum-phā table seems to have fallen short of the total, forty-one, contemplated in the dictum of the Artha-Sāstra for the orthography of Sanskrit royal

writs, nay, of Sanskrit language, by as many consonants as eight. For in each row of letters in the table we are not to expect to see more than thirty-three letters intended to represent the following consonants in such order as—*ka, kha, ga, gha, ṇa* | *ca, cha, ja, jha, ṇa* | *ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa* | *ta, tha, da, dha, na* | *pa, pha, ba, bha, ma* | *ya, ra, la, va* | *śa, ṣa, sa, ha* |, that is to say, the five consonantal groups of five each, the two semi-vowels, the two liquids and the four sibilants. It is impossible to conceive that the consonantal signs for representing the Sanskrit *ref*, *ra-phalā*, *ya-phalā*, *anusvāra*, *visarga*, as well as for indicating that the pronunciation of *ḍa* is as in *viḍāla*, or that the pronunciation of *ḍha* is as in *gāḍha*, or that the pronunciation of *ta* is *t* as in *matsya* were meant to be displayed. We have the frequent use of the *anusvāra-sign* (*m*) in our old Brāhmī inscriptions. In point of fact, the predominant tendency of the orthography of our old Brāhmī inscriptions is to represent the nasals of all the five consonantal groups by *m* in all cases of conjoint consonants. There was no occasion for the use of the *visarga-sign* (*h*). But this does not mean that the Brāhmī alphabet was wanting in this sign. For we have a clear use of this sign in Mr. Jayaswal's 'Sunga Inscription of Ayodhya.'

There was yet no necessity for having a separate letter for representing the Sanskrit *kṣa*, or for having separate conventional signs for representing the *r*, *ra* and *ya* sounds of conjoint consonants. Looked at from this point of view, it would be wrong to say that the consonantal system covered by the Brāhmī alphabet fell short of the orthography of Kauṭilya-Kauṭilya's royal writs in Sanskrit. Even the Brāhmī alphabet used for the inscriptions of Aśoka, especially for those at Girnar and Kalsi, was adequate for the entire Sanskrit consonantal system minus the *visarga-sign*. Anyhow, it is certain that, like the orthography of the Kalsi rock inscriptions of Aśoka, the orthography of the Tattva-Gumphā table included three letters representing *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa*.

So far as the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions goes, the letters representing *śa* and *ṣa* were of no use. Mr. Jayaswal makes out two words in Khāravela's inscription, one affording a singular instance of the use of the letter *śa*, and the other that of the use of the letter *ṣa*. The two words are respectively *vājisi-vaṃsa-kula-viniśṛto* (I. 16) and *Tramira-deṣa-saṃghātaṃ* (I. 12).

Mr. Jayaswal depends for these readings on the estampages taken by Mr. Vats. We can quite see that in Mr. Vats' estampages, at least, in one of them, the letter meant to represent *śi* appears, by some mysterious work of erosion and fissure, as *śa*, and that *ha* of *daha* appears, for some

reason or other, as *ga* and no less as Aśokan *ha*. But the first letter cannot undisputably be read as *de* in view of the fact that it presents to view two similar *e*-signs, attached one to the upper end and the other to the lower end.

Depending on Mr. Vats' estampages. Mr. Jayaswal makes out a word, *Siṃdhulāya* (I. 14), affording a singular instance of the use of a letter representing the Vedic cerebral *ḷa* which is frequently used in Pāli as a substitute for *ḍa*. We have to reject his reading on these two grounds: (1) that the Tattva-Gumphā table has no place for such a letter, and (2) that the three letters read by him as *dhulāya* can be better read, with the aid of the estampages previously published by him, as *silāhi*. As a working hypothesis, it may be taken for granted that, as regards the main letters, what is to be found in the Tattva-Gumphā table may be found in the texts of our old Brāhmī inscriptions and what is not to be found in the Tattva-Gumphā table cannot at all be found in the latter¹.

Prof. Sten Konow reads *Cūlakramesa* for *Cūlakamasa*. If, indeed, the intended reading were *Cūlakramasa* (*Cūlakarmasa*), we might have used it as a remarkable evidence to prove that the scribe or mason-engraver, employed to incise the inscription belonged to the Uttarāpatha, or more particularly, the Gandhāra-region where the prevailing tendency was to spell *dharma* as *dhrama*, and *darśi* as *draśi*.

The letter-forms of our old Brāhmī inscriptions show a stage of development of the Brāhmī alphabet, which is posterior to that of the Brāhmī inscriptions of Aśoka. Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji notices the following as the chief points of difference between the two sets of Brāhmī letter-forms:

"While Aśoka's *ka* has the vertical and horizontal strokes equal in size, here the vertical stroke is longer than the horizontal stroke; *ga* originally angular now becomes arched; *gha*, *pa*, *la* and *ha* originally with a rounded base now becomes flat; *ma* and *va* with a well-rounded base now becomes triangular; the two base-strokes of *ta* originally making an angle now tend to be an arch; *ikūra*-strokes making an angle no longer

1. We are indebted to Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakrabarty of the Calcutta University for drawing our attention to a number of manuscripts found in E. Turkestan, each of which has in it a Table of Alphabet, obviously as an aid to the reading of it. Here, too, the table was annexed apart from the consideration that all the letters included in it were actually required for the Ms. concerned

do so and go up higher. These are all points which prove that the character is later than Aśoka's." ¹

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda points out the following as the most notable characteristics of the Hāthi-Gumphā alphabet: "(1) A considerable number of letters with thick-headed vertical or *serif*; (2) *ka* with the lower part of the vertical prolonged; (3) invariably rounded *ga* (4) *cha* of the butterfly type with two loops; (5) *ta*'s having in most cases rounded lower part." ² It may also be noticed that in the Hāthi-Gumphā alphabet, the letter *a* is made up of two side strokes meeting the vertical leaving a wide space between them; the vertical of *kha* which in its earlier forms had nothing at its base has invariably a triangular or circular base; the letter *ra* which in its earlier forms was of a cork-screw pattern has become a straight vertical; and the letter *ha* has no longer a short horizontal stroke attached a little below its right vertical.

Applying all these prominent characteristics as a test of chronology of the letter-forms, and observing that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription shares them, to a considerable extent, with the inscriptions on the Sanchi Gateways, Rai Bahadur Chanda finds indication to be able to say that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription "is later in date not only than Aśoka's edicts and the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions, but also later than the Bharhut toraṇa inscription and the Nānāghāt inscription of the time of the Andhra king Siri Sātakaṇi I."

The Rai Bahadur has sought, indeed, to deepen the significance of Dr. Indrajī's observations by conceiving as many as seven stages in the evolution of the Brāhmī letter-forms from the Edicts of Aśoka to the Sanchi Gateway-inscriptions, the sixth being represented by the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela and the fifth by the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nayanikā, the widow of Sātakaṇi I, and the Barhut E. Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti, taken in a chronological order.

In the opinion of Prof. Bühler, the characters of the Sanchi South Gateway inscription wherein a king Siri-Sātakaṇi is mentioned were almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nayanikā. As against this opinion, Rai Bahadur Chanda maintains that the characters of the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nayanikā and also those of the

1. Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes. Part III, p. 140.

2. Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, p. 10.

Nāsik Cave inscription of king Kaṇḥa differ from the Sanchi Gateway inscriptions in these two essential features: "(1) Letters with the so-called *serif* or thick-headed vertical are quite conspicuous by their absence in these records. (2) In place of *ta's* with the invariably round lower part of the Sānchi Gateway inscriptions, we have in these earliest Andhra inscriptions and in the coins of king Siri Sāta (rightly identified with Siri Sātakani of Nānāghāt) *ta's* with mostly angular lower part."

Sometime ago Mr. R. D. Banerji read, at one of the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a carefully written paper embodying the results of his study of the letter-forms of the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nayanikā and the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravēla. His paper, which has been meant for publication in JASB with copious illustrations, showed that he had made a most painstaking analysis of the letter-forms of the two inscriptions. He said, in the course of discussion, that he could see in Khāravēla's inscription the engraving of three separate hands. He tried to point out that in all cases *ga's* and *ta's* were not arched or rounded but angular, and that, as a matter of fact, there were a number of letter-forms bearing the characteristic features of Aśokan Brāhmī, and that, on the other hand, there were certain letter-forms in the Nānāghāt Cave inscription that anticipated those of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. Thus he found reasons to differ from Rai Bahadur Chanda who assigned an earlier date to the alphabet of the Nānāghāt record. He seemed to think that as, on the ground of anticipation of some of the letter-forms of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, the Nānāghāt record might be dated later, so, on the ground of lingering resemblance with the letter-forms of Aśokan Brāhmī, the Hāthi-Gumphā record might be dated earlier. He inclined to explain the occurrence of different types of Brāhmī letters in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription by the fact that of the scribes employed, one was well-practised in the Eastern variety, one in the Southern variety, and so on.

Mr. Banerji's analysis of the Brāhmī letter-forms of the two inscriptions leaves nothing to be desired in the way of industry and precision. It convinces us that all the *ga's* in Khāravēla's inscription are not arched; that the lower parts of all the *ta's* are not invariably rounded; that it has a number of letter-forms bearing the characteristic features of the alphabet of the Maurya inscriptions¹; and that the Nānāghāt Cave inscription shows some letter-forms anticipating those of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.

1. Some of the Hāthi-Gumphā letter-forms may be Aśokan or Mauryan, but none of the Aśokan or Mauryan letter-forms has a *serif* or thickened top.

His analysis serves so far as to enable us to think that Rai Bahadur Chanda's statement has erred in facts. But he himself has failed to produce a convincing proof to substantiate his position as to the currency of the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western varieties of the Brāhmī alphabet precisely at that period of time which had seen the engraving of the inscriptions concerned.¹ In dealing with the language of Khāravela's inscription, he has taken the substitution of *ḍha* for *tha* to be a characteristic of the Southern dialect, the dialect which was current in Kalinga and Andhradeśa. Is it a right assumption that because the inscription of Khāravela and that of Nayanikā are found engraved in Southern countries their language must have been a Southern dialect? Can we seriously take, on the same ground, the letter-forms of the Nānāghāt Cave inscription as representative of the Southern variety of the Brāhmī alphabet? We cannot. We find that for the engraving of the most southern copies of his Minor Rock Edicts, King Aśoka employed a scribe, named Paḍa, who hailed from a country, say the Gandhāra region, where Kharoṣṭhī was the script in common use. The same remark holds true of the scribe or mason-engraver employed to inscribe Dhanabhūti's record on the Barhut E. Gateway.

We are prepared to entertain Mr. Banerji's hypothesis in so far as it leads us to believe that the scribes employed to incise Khāravela's inscription represented different localities. In examining the letter-forms of the Barhut inscriptions, we found some clear data compelling us to think on similar lines,—to feel that certain carvings and inscriptions were the workmanship of a particular group of artists, and others those of other groups. We were constrained to think that Rai Bahadur Chanda's view of the development of the Brāhmī alphabet was defective in so far as it did not consider what effects might have been produced if different groups of artist-scribes hailing from different parts of India were employed to do work on the same piece of stone, either at the same time or at different times. The Rai Bahadur failed to notice that, so far as the Barhut Inner Railing was concerned, there were two carvings² with a number of inscriptions, in which the letter *cha* was of the butterfly type with two loops, the letter *pa* had a

1. We mean the period anterior to the date of composition of the Lalita-Vistara which mentions various local alphabets.

2. Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XIV

flat base, and the letters tended to show thickened tops or *serifs*. Although we felt that these were the workmanship of one group of artists who represented a particular locality, we found no means of ascertaining what locality of India was actually represented by them.

We have now, thanks to the continued efforts and successes of the explorers and epigraphists, a good number of inscriptions, the letter forms of which show a close resemblance in many respects, to wit : (1) our old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves ; (2) Mr. Jackson's second Barābar inscription recording the name of the rock on which it is engraved as *Goradhagiri* ; (3) the Sanchi Gateway inscriptions incised during the reign of one King Siri-Sātakaṇi ; (4) two Pabhosa inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena referring to *Bahasatimita* ; (5) Gotamimitrā's inscription referring to King Viṣṇumitra¹ ; and (6) Mr. Jāvaswal's "Sunga Inscription of Ayodhya,"² referring to Puṣyamitra. Curiously enough, while these epigraphs, especially the inscriptions of Khāravela and Āṣāḍhasena, all referring to *Bahasatimita*, show all the signs of later development, later than the Mauryan, Yaśamitā's Brick Tablet inscription referring to *Bṛhāsvātimita* is found in Brāhmī characters which are decidedly Mauryan³.

If *Bṛhāsvātimita* of Yaśamitā's Brick-tablet was, as Dr. Vogel takes him to be, the same person as *Bahasatimita* of Āṣāḍhasena's inscriptions, or the same person as *Bahasatimita* of Khāravela's Hāthi-Gumphā record, we get at last a fact, which altogether upsets Rai Bahadur Chanda's chronological order of the Brāhmī inscriptions. And we are inclined also to think alike with Mr. Jāvaswal who says : "The Śuṅgas both in inscription and on coins used a script whose letter-forms are of a different style, and more advanced than the letter-forms of the later Mauryas. In the Besnagar inscription of the later Śuṅga Bhāgabhadra, we have the Maurya forms. There being thus more than one style of writing in vogue at one and the same time, the chronology of the records of the second century B.C. and thereabout is not deducible merely from letter-forms."⁴

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. II. No. 3. p. 56.

2. JBORS, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, p. 247.

3. JRAS, 1912, p. 120.

4. JBORS, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, p. 249.

5. JAYASWAL'S FIVE CORRECTED READINGS

The third instalment of corrections published by Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 150-1, goes to show that he keeps yet an open mind as to the reading of the text of Khāravela's inscription. The fact that he has so far revolved like a weather-cock at every gust of wind is indicative of nothing but his indecision. We shall consider below five of the corrected readings which he has offered and see whether and how far they bear scrutiny.

First, he proposes to read *Māhāmeghavāhana*, instead of *Mahāmeghavāhana*, as a common patronymical epithet of King Khāravela and King Kadampa-Kudepa in the old Brāhmī inscriptions Nos. I and III. He seems to think that the patronymic *Māhāmeghavāhana* implies that Mahāmeghavāhana was the personal name of Khāravela's grandfather. Even if his reading be correct, we do not see how his conclusion is correct. There are numerous instances in the Brāhmī inscriptions where for *a* we have the use of *ā*, e.g., *Bṛhāsvāti* for *Bṛhaspati* in Yaśamatā's Brick-tablet inscription. Even supposing that in *Māhāmeghavāhana*, *a* has not been represented by *ā*, where is the evidence to prove that Khāravela's grandfather was succeeded by his father and that his father was succeeded by him? Seeing that, whether as *Māhāmeghavāhana* or as *Mahāmeghavāhana*, it occurs as a common epithet of two kings of the same Kalinga royal family, we may say without much fear of contradiction that *Mahāmeghavāhana* was a common epithet of King Khāravela and King Kadampa-Kudepa, as well as that of their predecessors. But here his reading itself is open to dispute. As bad luck would have it, exactly that portion of the inscribed surface of the rock is fissured which contains the letters inscribing the epithet. So far as No. I is concerned, the choice lies not only between *ma* and *mā*, but also between *mā* and *mo*. As regards No. III, the *ā*-stroke is not where it should be. A similar apparition can be noticed in the inscription of Kusuma (No. XIV) inducing one to read *Kusumasa* as *Kusumāsa*. We do not see much use making fuss over *ma* and *mā*.

Secondly, he proposes to read in I. 9 *sa-b(i)ta-senavāhano vipamūcitum Madhuraṃ apayāto*, correcting *saṃb(i)ta* his previous correction to *sa-b(i)ta*, and to translate *sa-bīta-senavāhano*: "with his army and transport having lost their morale." He thinks that *bīta* is the same word as *vīta*, which has a technical military significance,

as may be proved on the authority of the Amarakoṣa where (in Bk. Kṣatriya, 43) we read : *ṛitaṃ tu asāraṃ hastyaśvaṃ*. Here *ṛita* is explained as a substantive. But Mr. Jayaswal interprets *bīta* as an adjective qualifying *senā-vāhana*, which is impossible on the authority of the Amarakoṣa. Another objection is that after *panādena* there must be a verbal form to denote the effect of the action implied, while Mr. Jayaswal's reading and rendering serves to remove the verbal form altogether.¹ Moreover, one can be sure more about *ne* as the final syllable than about *no*. We do not deny the possibility of the reading *sabita* as it appears in the estampages. What we deny is the possibility of Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of it. Even *sabita* must be taken in the same sense as *saṃbhīta*. For the appearance *bha* as *ba*, one may compare *gabhīra* in I. 2. For *sabita* = *saṃbhīta*, one may compare *saṃkāra* = *saṃkhāra* in I. 16.

Thirdly, he proposes to read in I. 2 *maṇḍaṃ Āvarāja-nivesita-Pithuḍaṃ gadabha-naṃgalena kāsayati*, correcting his previous correction *maṇḍaṃ avarāja-nivesitaṃ pīthudā*, and takes it to mean "He (Khāra-vela) razes to the ground (lit. ploughs down) with an ass-plough Pithuḍa the market town (maṇḍa), founded by (the) Āva king." In support of his reading *Āva-rāja*, he argues: "There was an ancient Tamil race *Āya* (Cam. H.I., p. 596) and a kingdom called *Āva-mukta*, to the north of Kāंची, in the time of Samudragupta (Allahabad inscription), and a people spelt as *Ararni* and *Aruarni* below or by the Kistna as described by Ptolemy." He also puts forward as an argument: "The Bhāgavata records an *Āva* dynasty (xii, 2-29) which the Viṣṇu (iv. 24. 13) equates with Andhra. This agrees with Ptolemy. The *Āvas* were in the Andhra country at the time." We have looked in vain into the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (iv. 24. 13) for the equation of any dynasty by the name of *Āva* with the *Andhra*. The letter read as *ā* in Mr. Jayaswal's *Āvarāja* cannot be read as *ā* in view of the fact that in it the two left strokes do

1. A statement in the Nasik Cave inscription No. 10 (EI, Vol. VIII) goes indeed to prove that *panādena* may be used even without a verbal expression after it to denote the effect produced by the action implied in it. But it is difficult to understand that in the Hāthi-Gumphā statement the verbal expression *vipamūcituṃ* (to release, to relieve) governs *madhurā* instead of *senavāhanas*. The statement in the Nasik Cave inscription reads: "Bhaṭārakā oṃñātiyā ca gatasmim varṣaratūṃ māluṃyehi rudhaṃ Utamabhādraṃ mocayituṃ ca Mālayā pranāden' eva apayātā," which Senart translates: "And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were."

not meet the vertical leaving a space between them. We doubt the correctness of his reading *maṇḍaṇ*. Mr. R. D. Banerji's estampage clearly shows that the first letter of Mr. Jayaswal's *Āvarāja* is *pu*. We make bold to dispute *naṃgalena kāsayaṭi* because the letter after *naṃgale* or *nagale* is *ne* and is intended to be connected with *kāsayaṭi*.

Fourthly, he proposes to read in I. 12 *Tramira-deṣa-saṃghātaṃ*, correcting his previous correction *tamara-deha-saṃghātaṃ*, and takes it to mean "the combination (or league) of the Tramira (=Tamil) countries." His reading *Tramira* has come very near to our *tamira* or *timira*. Mr. Jayaswal does not at all consider that here the word *saṃghāta* may also be interpreted in the sense of *saṃkhāta* meaning "called". Regarding his reading *deṣa*, our first objection is that in the estampage of Mr. Vats, the letter *na* shows similar *e*-strokes on both ends. Our second objection is that the use of the cerebral sibilant *ṣa* is unexpected. Mr. R. D. Banerji's estampage tends to produce the appearance of the first letter as *ti*, and the estampage of Mr. Vats that of *tra*. We cannot think that here *Tramira* occurs as a spelling for the Tamil (*Tāmiḷa* or the Sk. *Drāviḍa*), due to the fact that *ḷa* or *ḍa* is in all cases represented by *ḍa*, and nowhere by *ra*.

Fifthly, he proposes to read in I. 16 *vinīṣṛto*, correcting his previous reading *vinis(i)to*. He has evidently relied too much on the estampage of Mr. Vats, forgetting that in taking an impression, a man, however careful and cautious he may be, is apt to exercise his own discretion in determining the outlines of the letters. If we were the men engaged for the purpose, we would have found ourselves quite at liberty to mark out the letter as *s(i)*. Anyhow, it is certain that the letter was never meant to be *śr*, cf. the letter *ḷr* in *Bṛhāsvāṭi* on Yaśamitā's Brick-tablet (JRAS, 1912, p. 120).

6. THE LANGUAGE

Judged by the sound-system and syntax, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions is very nearly Pāli, the language of the Buddhist Tipiṭaka preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. Leaving the spelling and pronunciation of a few words out of consideration, we can say that their language is Pāli, and nothing but Pāli. The exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation are important as enabling the reader to detect the under-current of a dialect having affinity, in respect of its phonetics, with Ārdha-Māgadhī, the language of the extant Jaina Āgama.

Broadly speaking, the differences between the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and Ārdha-Māgadhī are the differences which exist between Pāli and the Jain Prakrit and have been specified by Prof. Jacobi.¹ For example, in the Jain Prakrit, in final syllables, as well as in the middle of words, *o* is frequently represented by *e*, while in the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and in Pāli, *o* is nowhere represented by *e*. At the same time, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions shows a complete agreement with both Pāli and Ārdha-Māgadhī in its tendency not to replace the Sanskrit *r*-sound by the *l*-sound.

The language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions differs from Ārdha-Māgadhī and agrees with Pāli also in its main tendency not to indiscriminately cerebralize the dental nasal.

Now let us examine the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation and see what results we obtain and how we can account for them. Let us, first of all, examine the invocation formula as it occurs in Khāravēla's inscription. This was obviously a rendering from a current Jain formula, which probably survives in the later full-fledged formula: *Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ, ṇamo siddhāṇaṃ*, etc. In the inscriptional formula, the cerebral nasals are replaced by the dental, but the spelling *arihaṃta* is yet retained, while the commoner spelling, as evidenced by the inscriptions of Khāravēla and Khāravēla's chief queen, is *arahaṃta*. Both of these two spellings are met with in Ārdha-Māgadhī, the spelling *arihaṃta* being met with more frequently than *arahaṃta*, while only one spelling, *arahanta*, is met with in Pāli. We also notice that, in the second clause, the cerebral

1. Preface to the Āyāraṃga-Sutta, edited by H. Jacobi, Part 1—Text, pp. VIII-XIV. Read also P. V. Bapat's interesting paper "The Relation between Pāli and Ārdha-Māgadhī," Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1.

sonant aspirate *ḍha* has been replaced by the dental *dha*, and we have, for the Sk. *sarva*, *sava* (= *sarva*), precisely as in *ardha-Māgadhi*, instead of *saba* (= *sabba*) as in Pāli.¹

The language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions shows an agreement with *Ārdha-Māgadhi* in its tendency to retain the Sk. *ḍ*-sound instead of substituting for it the Vedic cerebral sound *ḷ* as in Pāli: *kaḍāra* (I. 1) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *kaḍāra* = Sk. *kaḍāra* = Pāli *kaḷāra*; *kīḍikā*, *kīḍitā* (I. 1) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *kīḍiyā*, *kīḍā*, *kīḍiyā* = Sk. *krīḍā*, *krīḍitā* = Pāli *kīḷikā*, *kīḷitā*; *kīḍāpayati* (I. 4) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *kīḍāvayai* = Sk. *krīḍayati* = Pāli *kīḷāpayati*; *pīḍāpayati* (I. 9) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *pīḍāvayai* = Sk. *pīḍayati* = Pāli *pīḷāpayati*; *taḍāga* (I. 2) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *taḍāga* = Sk. *taḍāga* = Pāli *taḷāka*; *veḍuriya* (I. 10, I. 15) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *veḍuriya* = Sk. *vaiḍūrya* = Pāli *veḷuriya*.

Further, as to the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation, the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions differs from Pāli and agrees with *Ārdha-Māgadhi* in its greater tendency to replace the surd by the sonant of a consonantal group: *taḍāga* (I. 2) = Pāli *taḷāka* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *taḍāga*; *padhame* (I. 2) = Pāli *paṭhame*, *pathame* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *padhame*; *°padha* (I. 13) = Pāli *°patha* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *°paha* (a change from *°padha*); *radha*, *Goradha* (I. 3, I. 8, I. 9) = Pāli *°radha*, *Goratha* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *raha*, *Goraha* (changes from *radha*, *Goradha*); *Pīthudaga* (I. 12) = Pāli *Puthudaka* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *Pihudaga*, *Pihudaga*; *saṃghāta* (I. 12) = Pāli *saṃkhāta*, *saṃkhyāta* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *saṃkhāta*²; *Madhuram* (I. 9) = Pāli *Madhuram* = Sk. *Muthurām* = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *Mahuram* (a change from *Madhuram*).

The language under discussion differs from Pāli and agrees with *Ārdha-Māgadhi* also in its tendency to form a gerund by adding *tā* (= *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *ttā*) instead of *tvā* to the verb; *acitayitā* (I. 3) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *acitayittā* = Pāli *acintayitrā*; *ghātūpayitā* (I. 9) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *ghātārayittā* = Pāli *ghātūpayitrā*; in its tendency to change *p* into *v* in the middle of a word: *kara-vaṇa-anugaha* (I. 7) = Pāli *kara-vaṇa-anugaha*; in its tendency to frequently use *pana* (= *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *paṇṇa*, Pāli *panna*, *paṇṇa*, *paṇṇa*) for *pañca*: *panatīsāhi* (I. 2) = Pāli *pañcatimsāhi*; *panatariya* (I. 15) = Pāli *pañca-sattati*; in its tendency to represent the *r* of

1. Cf. also *puba* (I. 5, I. 12) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *puba* = Pāli *pubba* i *savata* (I. 8) = *ardha-Māgadhi* *savatttha* = Pāli *sabbatttha*; *yovana* (I. 1) = *Ārdha-Māgadhi* *yovana* = Pāli *yobbana*.

2. Here *saṃghāta* may be equated also with Sk. and Pāli *saṃghāta*.

a conjoint consonant by *m*: *dampa* (I. 4)=Pāli *dappa*=Sk. *darpa*¹; *saṃdamsayaṃto* (I. 7)=Pāli *saṃdassayaṃto*=Sk. *sandarśayan*; *akkhadamsa* (IX)=Pāli *akkhadassa*=Sk. *akṣadarśa*²; in its tendency to dispense with *t*-sound in the middle of a word; *cavutthe* (I. 5)=Ārdha-Māgadhī *cavutthe*=Pāli *catutthe*; and in its tendency to represent *kh* by *h*: *siharāṇi* (I.13)=Ārdha-Māgadhī *siharāṇi*=Pāli *sikharāṇi*.

If Mr. R. D. Banerji's reading *dhut[u]nā* be correct, we find in it another point of agreement between the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions and Ārdha-Māgadhī: *dhutunā* (II)=Ārdha-Māgadhī *dhutunā*=Pāli *dhītunā*.

In *pāḍiyo* (I. 2)=Sk. *pālīh*=Pāli and ārdha-Māgadhī *pāliyo*, one has an exceptional instance, where *l* is represented by *ḷ*=Pāli *ḷ*. In *veḍuriya* (I. 10, I. 15)=Sk. *vaidūrya*, one has a case, in which *d* is represented by *ḍ*=*ḷ*. In *vaṇa* (I. 7)=Sk. *paṇa* and in *dapa* (if it is a correct reading)=Sk. *drava*, we have a case, in which *p* and *v* are interchanged. In *palikhāṇi* (I. 13)=Sk. *parighān* and in *saṃghātam* (I. 12)=Sk. *saṃkhyātam*, one has a case, in which *kh* and *gh* are interchanged. In *leṇam*=Sk. *layanam*, one has a case, in which the dental nasal is represented by the cerebral. In *Madhuram* (I. 9)=Sk. *Mathurām*, one has a case, in which *th* is represented by *dh*. But these are exceptions which are met with equally in Pāli.

Regarding the use of two spellings of *pāli* as *pāli* and *pālī*, of *Lāla* as *Lāla* and *Lālā*, and of *lena* as *lena* and *leṇa* in Pāli, Dr. E. Müller's observations are worth quoting: "It is very difficult to give exact rules for the use of *ḷ* as the manuscripts are even less consistent in this respect than with regard to the dental and cerebral *n*."³

As regards *palikhāṇi*=Sk. *parighān*, the usual Pāli spelling is *pali-ghāṇi* or *paḷighāṇi*. The *palikha* spelling occurs in one of the Jātaka verses (Fausböll's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 276):—

Esikā parikhūyo ca palikham aggalāṇi ca.

The commentator suggests *paligha* as an alternative reading: *pali-khan ti paligham, ayam eva vā pāṭho*. "Here *palikha* means *paligha*. This *paligha* may also be the intended reading."

1. If *dapa* be the correct reading, the word must be equated with Pāli and Ārdha-Māgadhī *dava*, and Sk. *drava*.

2. The only exception in Pāli is *lomahamsa*=*lomaharṣa*.

3. E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 27.

As for *saṃghāta* = Sk. *saṃkhyāta*, we find a parallel instance in Pāli Maghādeva (Culla-Niddesa, p. 80) = *Makkhūdeva*, although here both the forms may be regarded as phonetic changes from *Mahādeva*, which is the usual Pāli spelling.

No hypothesis regarding the character of the language should be built on the basis of the readings *etinaṃ* (I. 9) and *saṃkārakārako* (I. 16). For it seems that *etinaṃ* is but the engraver's mistake¹ for *etisānaṃ* = Pāli *etesānaṃ*, and *saṃkāra* for *saṃkhāra*, cf. *paṭisaṃkhārayati* (I. 2).

One need not be surprised if the intended reading in Khāravēla's inscription (I. 9) was *brahmaṇānaṃ* or *brahmaṇānaṃ*, which is the same in pronunciation as the Pāli *brāhmaṇānaṃ*. So far as the present inscribed surface of the rock goes, one has to read *bamhaṇānaṃ* or *bakmaṇānaṃ*.

Apart from the question of chronology, the following Brāhmī inscriptions may be so arranged as to indicate a march of the official language of ancient India from a stage of old Māgadhī towards Sanskrit through a Pāli stage reached in the language of Ānanda's Sanchi Gateway inscription of Śātakarṇi's time and in that of the old Brāhmī inscriptions:

I. Piprahwa Vase Inscription—

*Iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakhiyanaṃ sukiti-
bhatinaṃ sabhaginikaṇaṃ saputadalanāṃ.*

II. Aśoka's Rummindei Pillar Inscription—

*Devānaṃpiyena Piyaḍasina lājina vīsativasābhisitena atana
āgāca... silāvigaḍabhiḥcā kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapāpite.*

III. Yaśamatā's Brick-tablet Inscription²—

*Jivaputāye rājabharyāye Bṛhūsvātimitadhitu-Yaśamatāye kūrī-
tāṃ.*

IV. Gotamīmitrā's Pillar Inscription³—

*...mitrasa-putrasa-raño-Visṇumitrasadhitu-Īdragibhadāye dhū-
tiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṃ thambho.*

1. *Etinaṃ* may be a genuine genitive plural form from *etisa*.

2. JRS, 1912, the inscription edited by J. Ph. Vogel.

3. IHQ. Vol. II, No. 3, p. 442, the inscription edited by N. C. Majumdar.

V. Dhanabhūti's Barhut E. Gateway Inscription—

*Sugaram raje raño Gāgīputasa Visadevasa panteṇa Gotiputasa
Āgarajusa puteṇa Vāchiputena Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ tora-
ṇāṃ silākaṃmaṃto ca upaṇṇa.*

VI. Ānanda's Sanchi Gateway Inscription—

*Rāṇo siri-Sātakaṇṇisa āvesanisa Vāsithiputasa Ānandasa dā-
naṃ.*

VII. Khāravēla's Chief-queen's Inscription—

*Arahanta-pasāddāyaṃ Kāliṅgānaṃ samanānaṃ lepaṃ kārī-
taṃ—rājino Lāḍḍakaṣa Hathisīkaṣa papotasa dhītunā Kalin-
ga-cakavatino siri-khāravēlasa agamahisinā kāritaṃ.*

VIII. Āśāḍhasena's Pabhosa Inscription, No. II—

*Adhichatrāyā rāṇo śoukāyanuputrasya Vāṃsapālasya putrasya
raṇo Teranīputrasya Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaidarīpu-
treṇa Āśāḍhasenena kāritaṃ.*

IX. Sunga Inscription in Ayodhyā 1—

*Kosalādhipena dviraśvamedhayājinaḥ Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitra-
sya saṣṭhena Kauśikīputreṇa Dhana...dharmarājñiḥ² pituḥ
Phalgudevasya ketanaṃ kāritaṃ.*

We maintain that, from the point of view of antiquity of the Pāli language, the foregoing setting of the Brāhmi inscriptions is of little importance. For going back to earlier times, we find that, upon the whole, the sound system and grammatical forms of the language of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts are strikingly similar to those of Pāli. It appears that, for the adaptation of wordings of Aśoka's edicts to the local dialects, arrangements were made in Aśoka's Imperial Secretariat to have the drafts prepared by the drafters who were supposed to have been conversant with the local dialects of different centres, for which the edicts were intended. In theory, the Girnar copies of the fourteen rock edicts were meant to be drafted by the drafter familiar with the local dialect of Girnar. But in practice, in some instances, the drafters by a mutual

1. JBORS, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, p. 247, the inscription edited by K. P. Jayaswal.

2. Jayaswal reads *dharmarājñiḥ*.

arrangement worked for one another or, for some reasons or other, the drafter employed to prepare drafts for one place was called upon to do the work for another place, and, in some instances, the draft prepared for one place was despatched by mistake to another place. For example, by the sameness of opening words, *Devānampiyasa vacanena*, we may ascertain that the Dhauli copies of Aśoka's Separate Rock Edicts and the copy of Queen's Edict were drafted by one and the same drafter. We think there is no better way than this of explaining the irregularities of spellings and grammatical forms in the Girnar copies of Aśoka's fourteen Rock Edicts.

Among distinctive characteristics of the sound system, we notice that the Girnar language invariably retains the *st*-sound instead of assimilating it into *th*(=*tth*), and the *ṣṭ*-sound instead of assimilating it into *ṭh*(=*tṭh*): *asti*, *nāsti*, *saṁstuta*, *ṣṭita*, *tṣṭamti*, *anusastī*, *nṣṭānūya*; invariably retains the *r*-sound in the word *sarvata* or *sarvatra* and optionally in the word *purva*, while in *sava*, *re* is assimilated into *r*(=*rr*); and shows a greater tendency to optionally retain the *ra*-stop: *prāṇā*, *priya*, *sarvatra*, *brāhmaṇa*, *sramaṇa*, *parākrama*. The last characteristic, viz., the retention of *r*-stop has its vestiges in such Pāli words as *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra*, *aññatra*, *amutra*, *bhadra*, *brāhmaṇa*, *gadrabha*. In Pāli, we have *sm* and *mh* as two alternative forms, while in the Girnar language, we have the use of only one form, namely, *mh*: *vijitamhi*, *apakavaṇamhi*. The retention of the *ga*-stop is another point of agreement between the two languages: Girnar—*katarya*, *vyamjanato*, *divyāni*; Pāli—*Sakya*, *vākya*, *vyamjanato*, *saṁkhyāta*.

This may suffice to convince the reader of the fact that the Pā language was modelled on a western form of the Indian Prakritic dialect as typified by the language of the Girnar version of Aśoka's rock edicts. And if the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions is found to be very nearly Pāli, we cannot, for that reason, be justified in thinking either that it was representative of a dialect, which was prevalent in the kingdom of Kāliṅga, or that the Pāli language was based upon the Kāliṅga dialect presupposed by it.¹ Apart from other arguments advanced by other scholars against Prof. Oldenberg's view,² we find that, unlike Aśoka's

1. Vinaya-Piṭaka edited by Oldenberg, Vol. I, Introduction, p. liv.

2. Nalinaksha Dutt's Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, pp. 262-4; Sunnikumar Chatterji's The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I, pp. 56 ff.

edicts, our old Brāhmī inscriptions bear no proof of adaptation to local dialects. In many essential points, the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions bears likeness to that of the Girnar version of Aśoka's rock edicts. We can account for this likeness without resorting to Prof. Oldenberg's hypothesis. The likeness might be simply due to the fact that our old Brāhmī inscriptions were drafted by a Jain recluse who came to live in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves from Gujrāt, or that the Jain recluse who composed our old Brāhmī inscriptions was won over from the Buddhist faith and utilised his knowledge of the Pāli language. To render an adequate explanation for the Pāli diction, as well as for the exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation, we see no better way than to presume that the old Brāhmī inscriptions, as we now have them, were a rendering in a kind of Girnar language or of Pāli from an original draft prepared by a Jain recluse in an eastern dialect presupposed by Ardha-Māgadhī or Jain Prakrit, and that this rendering was done by another Jain recluse in the course of rewriting it, the Jain recluse who was either born and brought up in the Girnar region or won over from the Buddhist faith having an opportunity of being conversant with a dialect similar to the Girnar language or with Pāli itself.

Whether or no the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga was originally a Dravidian form of speech is a disputed question. But it seems certain that the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions was not the spoken dialect of the people of Kaliṅga. The Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves where these inscriptions were engraved are situated in the heart of the Puri District of Orissa. The spoken dialect of the inhabitants of this District is now known as Oṛiyā. The spoken dialect of the people of Utkalavarṣa, the country of Utkala, was known to the outsiders, say to the cultured people in Magadha, as an unintelligible and uncouth jargon as might be inferred from the expression *Ukkalāvassa-bhañṇā* which has been used as a term of contempt in one of the passages of the Pāli Tipiṭaka.¹ Buddhaghosa, the Pāli commentator, has altogether missed the significance of this expression. He takes it to mean "two men of Utkala, Vassa and Bhañṇa by name."² This meaning is out of the question in the Pāli passage where, while speaking of the philosophers propounding

1. Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part II, p. 31.

2. Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese edition, Part II, p. 377 : *Ukkalāti Ukkala-jaṇapada-vāṣmo. Vassa-Bhañṇāti Vasso ca Bhañṇo ca dve jaṇā.*

views contrary to his own, the Buddha has referred to them as *Ukkalāvassa-bhaññū*, that is, as persons speaking in terms of the unintelligible and uncouth jargon of the country of Utkala.

Our old Brāhmī inscriptions' is a conventional language, which tended to remain clear of Māgadhisms, the elements of eastern dialects.¹ Prof. S. K. Chatterji rightly observes: "The Aryan language...came in the wake of the North Indian religions, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was used by royal patrons of these religions among Dravidians and other non-Aryans, merely as a sort of religious language, in documents of a religious, and often of an administrative character."²

We have sought to maintain that the Pāli language, too, tended to remain clear of Māgadhisms. It is most astonishing that Prof. Bapat freely admits *attakāre*, *parakāre*, *sukhe*, *dukkhe*, *jīva-sattame*, and the like to be the genuine Pāli forms,³ forgetting that these Ardha-Māgadhisms are clearly associated in the earliest Pāli texts, notably the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. I, with the doctrines of such recluse teachers as Pūraṇa-Kassapa, Pakudha-Kaccāyana and Makkhali-Gosāla, and that, as such, these are meant to have been put within inverted commas as a means of being kept distinct from the Pāli forms, *attakāro*, *parakāro*, *sukham*, *dukkham*, and *jīva-sattamo*.⁴

It is interesting to observe how scholars after scholars have erred on the wrong side in subsuming that all that is in Pāli is Pāli. The spelling of *Rṣigiri* as *Isigili*, met with in the title and body of the Pāli *Isigili-sutta* of the Majjhima Nikāya, is cited by Prof. Lüders as a notable instance of lingering old Māgadhism in Pāli, and no less as an evidence in support of his theory about the rendering in the existing Pāli canon of old Māgadhī texts in a western dialect. But what can be more misleading than this? As we have sought to show elsewhere,⁵ the usual Pāli name of the hill would have been *Isigiri*, and the *Isigili* form had

1. The word *palikhāni* which occurs in Khāravela's inscription as an equivalent of the Pāli *palikhāni* or *palighāni*, and the Sk. *parighān*, might be cited as an exception. But the alternative Pāli spelling of *paligha* as *paligha*, met within the Vāseṭṭha-Sutta, Sutta-Nipāta, indicates that the case is not that of replacement of the *ra*-sound by the *la*-sound but that of an inter-consonantal change effected through *ḷa* or *ḷa*.

2. The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I, p. 63.

3. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 23.

4. See Barua's paper—The Ājivikas—in the Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. II, pp. 46-51.

5. Barua's paper—Jinalogy and Buddhology—Calcutta Review, Oct., 1924, p. 60.

to be adopted for a very special reason, meaning it to be put within inverted commas. The reason for adoption or retention of the spelling *Isigili* has been stated in the Sutta itself :—

“ *Bhutapubbam, Bhikkhave, pañca-Pacceka-buddha-satāni imasmim Isigilismim pabbate ciranivāsino ahesum. Te imam pabbatam pavisantā dissanti, pavitṭhā na dissanti. Tam enaṃ manussā disvā evaṃ āhaṃsu : ‘Ayaṃ pabbato ime isī gilatṭīti Isigili,’ Isigili tveva samaññā udapādi.*”¹

“ Formerly, O Bhikkhus, some five hundred Egotistic Buddhas (hermit teachers) came to live for ever (*i.e.*, to cast off their bodies) in (the dark caverns of) this *Isigili* mountain. They could be seen entering (the caverns of) this mountain, and once they entered into the mountain, they could no longer be seen. Observing this strange happening, the people said : ‘ This mountain swallows these sages,’ and hence arose the name of the hill—*Isigili*, ‘ the swallower of sages.’ ”

The explanation offered by the Buddha enables us to understand that the real name of the mountain which was *R̥ṣigiri* or *Isigiri*, “ the Mountain abode of the Hermits,” was locally pronounced as *Isigili*, and acquired a new association of ideas in the fanciful etymological derivation “ *Isigilatṭīti Isigili*,” “ the Hermit-swallower because it swallows the hermits,” and that this new association could not be embodied without coining such a longer name in Pāli as *Isigili-giri* = *R̥ṣigili-giri*, “ the Hermit-swallower-mountain.”

As we have seen, the substitution of the Dental sonant aspirate for the Dental surd aspirate in such words as *padha*, *radha*, *Goradha*, *padhama*, and *Madhurā* is a characteristic of the dialect presupposed by the language of our old Brāhmī inscriptions, that is to say, of the language of the supposed first draft. Among the later Prakrit dialects, the Śauraseni, the vernacular of the people of Śūrasena or Mathurā region, has alone been characterised by this kind of phonetic change in Vararuci’s *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*, in the aphorism (XII. 3) : “ The Dental consonants *ta* and *tha* which are not the initials of any words and are not conjoined with other consonants change respectively into *da* and *dha*.”

One need not be astonished if the first draft of Khāravēla’s inscription was prepared in the dialect of the Mathurā region by a Jain recluse who

1. Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. III, Part I, p. 68.

was familiar with it. The two inscriptions discovered and published by Mr. Jackson in the Barābar Hills offer us an instance of the substitution of *dha* for *tha*.¹ In the earlier inscription, the letter-forms of which are similar to those of Aśoka's inscriptions, the name of the particular hill to which it is attached is recorded as *Goradhagiri*, while in the later inscription, the letter-forms of which are strikingly similar to those of Khāravela's inscription, the name of the same hill has been recorded as *Goradhagiri*.²

Mr. R. D. Banerji offers this explanation for the use of the spelling *Goradhagiri* in the second inscription: "The substitution of *dha* for *tha* shows that the second record was incised by an inhabitant of Southern India. It is quite possible that this record was incised by an inhabitant of Kalinga, probably one of the men who had accompanied Khāravela in his first campaign against the king of Magadha."³

We find it difficult to agree with Mr. Banerji in thinking this kind of substitution was a peculiarity of the spoken dialect of the people of Kalinga in view of the fact that in none of Aśoka's inscriptions in Kalinga we notice it. If it be true that the second record was actually incised by one of the men who had accompanied King Khāravela in his campaign against the people of Rājagaha, the fact may be explained differently. The author of the record might be a man who was brought up in Mathurā or the Mathurā region. Our explanation is more plausible on the ground that, according to the Hāthi-Gumphā record, Mathurā was used by King Khāravela as the military base in his campaign against the King of Aṅga-Magadha, and no less in his campaign against the kings of Uttarāpatha.⁴

We may, on another ground, maintain that the presupposition of the language of the supposed first draft of Khāravela's inscription was not the spoken dialect of the people of Kalinga. In Khāravela's inscription, we have *caruthe* (l. 5) for the Pāli *catutthe*. We find that *cāvudasa* occurs in all the versions of Aśoka's fifth Pillar Edict as a common spelling for *cātuddasa*. The dialects of all the versions of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts point, beyond any doubt, to the existence of a widely prevalent *lingua franca*, or language of the cultured laity as Professor Rhys Davids would like to

1. JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 159-71.

2. The point is ably discussed by R. D. Banerji in JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 500.

3. JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 500-501.

4. See for fuller discussion *passim*, under Geographical Allusions.

call it, in the third century B. C., in the Middle Country extending as far, say, as Kauśāmbi and Mathurā. It is apparent that the dialects of these Pillar Edicts are full of Māgadhisms. And if we go by the verdict of Vararuci, the predominant tendency of the Māgadhī dialects was Sauraseni,¹ that is to say, of the dialect of the people of Mathurā.

Thus we are led to assume that the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves in Orissa, Mathurā and Ujjeni-Girinagara were the three important centres of Jainism during the reign of Khāravela, and that the language of Khāravela's inscription is, so far as its grammatical forms go, the same as the dialect of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts, and, so far as its sound system goes, a combination of the Girnar and Mathurā dialects.²

The substitution of *dha* for *tha* cannot be said to be a peculiarity of the Pāli language on the ground that in Pāli, too, we have *Madhurā* as a spelling for *Mathurā*, just in the same way that we have in it *Isigili* as a spelling for *Isigiri*, and *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* as two spellings for *Mahādeva*. All these were locally current proper names retained in Pāli, and meant to be put within inverted commas, that is to say, to be kept distinct from the standard Pāli spellings. The spelling of the name *Mādhava-Videha* as *Māthava-Videgha* occurring in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 1) is an apt parallel in Sanskrit literature. This spelling shows that the personal name *Mādhava-Videha* was locally pronounced, most probably by the inhabitants of Videha or Mithilā region, as *Māthava-Videgha*.

We mean to say that the spelling *Madhurā* was not due to a Pāli rendering of the *ṛk*. *Mathurā*,—that, in other words, *Madhurā* was a *jana-pada-ninutti* or *deśī-nāma*, that is to say, a locally current proper name, which found recognition in Pāli. In accordance with a significant statement made by the Buddha in the Araṇavibhanga-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya (Vol. III, Part III), one locally current proper name, if it signifies an object for which it is intended, is as good as the other, and there is no sound reason for regarding one of them as more correct than the other. The importance of his statement lies also in the fact that it contains a reasonable explanation for the recognition of a particular form of the proper name not from any intrinsic superior value of its own but on account

1. Vararuci's *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*, XI.2 : *Prakṛtiḥ Saurasenī*.

2. See *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, Part III, p. 140, where Bhagawanlal Indraji remarks : "The whole inscription is in prose. Its language is Prakrit, different from the Lāṭī (Pillar) inscriptions of Aśoka, but resembling the old Mahārāṣṭra Prakrit of the Western India cave inscriptions." This characterisation is too general to need comments.

of local adaptation. We quote below his statement *in extenso* to enable the reader to judge for himself what it is and what it implies :—

Janapada-niruttim nābhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nātidhāveyyāti—iti kho pana etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñce'taṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Kathañ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttīyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññaṃ ca atisāro ? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev'¹ ekaccesu janapadesu 'Pātī'ti sañjānanti, 'Pattan'ti, Vitthan'ti, 'Sarāvaṇ'ti, 'Dhāropan'ti, 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisīlan'ti sañjānanti. Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapadesu sañjānanti tathā tathā thāmasā parāmassa abhinivissa voharati² : "Idam eva saccam, mogham aññaṃ" ti. Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttīyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññaṃ ca atisāro.³ Kathañ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttīyā ca anabhiniveso hoti samaññaṃ ca anatisāro ? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev'⁴ ekaccesu janapadesu 'Pātī'ti sañjānanti, 'Pattan'ti, 'Vitthan'ti, 'Sarāvaṇ'ti, 'Dhāropan'ti, 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisīlan'ti sañjānanti. Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapadesu sañjānanti "Idaṃ kira'me āyasmanto sandhāya voharanī" ti tathā tathā voharati aparāmasaṃ.⁴ Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttīyā anabhiniveso hoti samaññaṃ ca anatisāro. Janapada-niruttim nābhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nātidhāveyyāti—iti yaṃ taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

“The local form of a proper name is not to be dogmatically adhered to, the local designation is not to be pressed too far.’ Such is the rule as stated. For what reason is the rule so stated ? And how is it, O Bhikkhus, that a man becomes inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name, and to press the local designation too far ? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that in some locality a utensil is known by the name of *Pāti*, in some by the name of *Patta*, in some by the name of *Vittha*, in some by the name of *Sarāva*, in some by the name of *Dhāropa*, in some by the name of *Poṇa*, and in some by the name of *Pisīla*. The inhabitant of a particular locality having strongly embraced and dogmatically adhered to a particular form of the proper name whereby the utensil

1. Buddhaghosa's *Papañca-Sūdanī*, Siamese edition, Part III, p. 471 : *Tad evaṃ taṃ yeva bhājanam*.

2. *Ibid*, p. 471 : *Abhinivissa voharatīti 'Pattan'ti-sañjānana-janapadaṃ ganterā "Pattaṃ āharatha dhorathā" ti sutvā "Andha-puthujjano, nayidaṃ 'Pattaṃ' 'Pāti' nāma esā, eṃaṃ vadāhi" ti abhinivissa voharati*.

3. *Ibid*, p. 471 : *Atisāro'ti abhivādanam* (a misprint for *atidhāvanam*).

4. *Ibid*, pp. 471-2 : *Tathā tathā voharati aparāmasanti "Amhākaṃ janapade bhājanam 'Pāti'ti" vuccati, ime pana naṃ 'Pattan'ti vadanti. Tato paṭṭhāya janapada-vohāraṃ muñcetrā pattaṃ 'Pattan' t'eva aparāmasanto voharati*.

is known in this or that locality, boastfully says : ' This is the only correct form, and the others are incorrect.' Thus it is, O Bhikkhus, that a man becomes inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name, and to press the local designation too far. How is it, O Bhikkhus, that a man does not become inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name, and to press the local designation too far? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that a utensil is known by different proper names in different localities, in some by the name of *Pāti*, in some by the name of *Patta*, and so on and so forth. The inhabitant of one locality, when he is in another locality, realising ' that the gentlemen of the second locality conventionally use this form of the proper name to designate this object,' wisely use that particular form whereby the object is known in that particular locality without any local attachment (that is, abandoning the form whereby the object is known in his own locality). Thus it is, O Bhikkhus, that a man does not become inclined to dogmatically adhere to the local form of a proper name, and to press the local designation too far. It is for this reason that the rule is so stated as : ' The local form of a proper name is not to be dogmatically adhered to,— the local designation is not to be pressed too far.' ”¹

1. Here we have refrained from introducing a discussion as to the origin and antiquity of Pāli language, reserving it for a separate monograph. But it is our decided opinion that a conclusion about the antiquity of Pāli drawn from the similarity observed between it and the language of Khāravela's inscription is bound to be a dogmatism and dangerous presumption. Truman Michelson's paper on ' Māgadhisms in the Language of the Girnar, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Inscriptions' (American Journal of Philology, 1909, pp. 234 ff., and JAOS, 1909, I, pp. 77 ff.) will receive full attention in the proposed monograph.

7. THE STYLE

Our old Brāhmī inscriptions are all written in prose, a rhythmic prose abounding in alliterations, elegant expressions, and balanced sentences, clauses and phrases. In reading these inscriptions, especially those which stand in the names of King Khāravela and his chief-queen, one cannot but be tempted to make out verses in them. We venture to say that all attempts made in this direction are destined to end in failure. Their diction is metrical prose without revealing the actual process of versification. In reading out the inscription of Khāravela one is apt to feel as though one were chanting verses in marked cadences, the invocation formula in a variety of Kumāra-Lalita metre, and the main text in a kind of *Simhavikrāṇṭita*.

Scan the invocation formula as carefully as you may, you cannot confidently class it as a metrical composition in any of the known metres, and yet your inclination will all along be to trace in it a process of versification in the Kumāra-Lalita metre. The fact is that the desire to produce a complete rhythmic effect has led the composer to balance up the groups of sounds in successive sentences, clauses or phrases, inducing a tendency to versification within a prose construction. So far as its greater rhythmic effect goes, the inscriptional formula || *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* || *Namo sara-sidhānaṃ* || shows an improvement upon an earlier Jain formula || *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* || *Namo sidhānaṃ* || which seems to linger in the later full-fledged Jain formula || *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* || *Namo sidhānaṃ* || *Namo āryariyānaṃ* || *Namo uvajhāyānaṃ* || *Namo loe sarva-sāhānaṃ* || quoted on p. 8 (*ante*). Comparing the inscriptional formula with the later Jain formula, we detect that after the monotonous repetition of four similar clauses, the latter is closed with a clause || *Namo loe sarva-sāhānaṃ* || constructed so as to maintain the rhythm of the whole, and that, in this final clause, one has a two-syllabic word in addition to those contained in the second clause of the former. In the formula consisting of two clauses, the insertion of one two-syllabic word suffices for the purpose, while in the formula consisting of five clauses, the insertion of an additional word is needed.

I. Inscriptional formula—

|| *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* || *Namo sara-sidhānaṃ* ||

II. Later Jain Formula—

|| *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ* || *Namo sidhānaṃ* || *Namo āryariyānaṃ* ||
|| *Namo uvajhāyānaṃ* || *Namo loe sarva-sāhānaṃ* ||

A similar Buddhist formula of invocation consisting of three clauses can be traced in the Peṭakôpadesa which is one of the extra canonical works presupposed by Buddhaghôṣa's *Atthasālinī*, and probably also by the *Milindapañha*.

III. Buddhist Formula in the Peṭakôpadesa—

|| *Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ* || *Paramatthadassīnaṃ* ||
|| *Sīlādiguṇa-pāramippattānaṃ* ||

In the Buddhist formula, the first two clauses joined together read like a line of a verse, while the third clause shows that the composition is yet rhythmic prose. The real character of the composition will be manifest if we supply the omissions and read it as follows :—

|| *Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ* || [*Namo*] *paramatthadassīnaṃ* ||
|| [*Namo*] *sīlādiguṇa-pāramippattānaṃ* ||

Coming to the main text of Khāravēla's inscription, we find that the effect of rhythm is heightened by a mathematical progression of the volumes of sound, and that the main statement commences from the point where the climax is reached. In such a text as this the verbs are bound to be sparingly used, and a rhyming process is bound to play its part as will be evident from the following quotation :—

I. (1)—|| *Aireṇa mahārājēṇa* || *mahāmegharāhanēṇa* || *Ceta-rājaraṃsa-*
radhanēṇa || *pasattha-sulha-lakhanēṇa* || *caturanta-rakhaṇa-guṇa-upetēṇa* ||
Kalimṅgādhipatinā siri-Khāravēḷēṇa || *paṇḍarasa-vasāṇi* || *siri-kaḍḍāra* || *sarī-*
raratū kīḍḍitū || *kumāra-kīḍḍikā* ||

The rhyming process plays its part also in a sentence consisting of several clauses, each with a separate verb :—

I. (2)—|| *pākāra-nivesanaṃ paṭisaṃkhārayati* || *taḍāgapāḍiyo ca baṇ-*
dhāpayati || *savūyāna-paṭisaṃthāpanaṃ ca kārāyati* || *paṇḍiyo ca raṇ-*
jayati ||

In the text of the inscription of Khāravēla's chief queen, the same verb is repeated for the sake of rhythm and emphasis :—

II—|| *Arahaṇṭa-pasūḍḍyaṃ Kālīmṅgānaṃ samaṇṇānaṃ leṇaṃ kārī-*
taṃ || *rājino Lālāḍḍasa Hathisīhasa papotasa dhītunū Kalimṅga-cakavatino*
siri-Khāravēḷasa aga-mahisīnā kārītaṃ ||

The rhythm is sought to be maintained even in such a short inscription as that of Kamma and Khīṇā :—

VII—|| *Kaṇṇmusa koṭṭhā ca* || *Khīṇāya ca pasūdo* ||

For the sake of rhythm the words are left as they are without being joined according to the rules of Sandhi, *e.g.*, *guṇa-upetena* (I. 1), and *tirasa-sata-oghātitaṃ* (I. 6).¹

So far as these peculiarities are concerned, our old Brāhmī inscriptions clearly anticipate the Pāli prose style of the Milindapañha, another of the extra-canonical works presupposed by Buddhaghosa's commentaries, which, even according to the tradition embodied in it, was not composed within the first five centuries of Buddha's demise. And so far as these peculiarities are concerned, there is nothing save a few long-drawn compounds within the four corners of the Pāli Tipiṭaka to anticipate the prose style of our old Brāhmī inscriptions. The Milinda descriptions of the city of Sāgala and the earthquake signalling the memorable character of Vessantara's charity, quoted below, will, we believe, show how close is the resemblance of its prose style with that of Khāravēla's inscription, in spite of the fact that the prose style of the latter has not, as yet, attained the maturity of the prose style of the former :—

I. Description of Sāgala—

Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāputabhedanaṃ Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaraṃ nadī-pabbata-sobhitaṃ ramaṇīya-bhūmippadesabhūgaṃ ārāma-uyyānōpavana-taḷāka-pokkharāṇi-sampannaṃ nadī-pabbata-vana-rāmaṇeyyakam, etc.

II. Description of the Earthquake—

Heṭṭhā mahāvūtā sañjalanti, saṇṇikam saṇṇikam sakim sakim ākulākulā vāyanti, onamanti unnamanti vinamanti, sinappattā pūdapū papatanti, gumbagumbaṃ vaiṭṭhukā sandhāvanti,...rudanti yakkhā appesakkhā, hasanti yakkhā mahesakkhā kampamānāya mahāpaṭhariyū.

Our old Brāhmī inscriptions' is not the prose style of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, nor that of earlier portions of the Jaina Āgama, nor that of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, older Upaniṣads, Kalpa-Sūtras, Niruktas and Prātiśākyas. So far as their prose style goes, they stand out, in point of time, as a notable landmark in the literary history of India. Just as with reference to the accidental unconscious beginning and maturer development of the style of Kāvya poetry Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-Carita stands midway between

1. Cf. *Vasa-abhisita* or *vaṣa-abhisita* (Aśoka's R. E. XIII, Sahbazgarhi: P. E, V Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mīrāth: P. E. VI, Delhi-Toprā).

the Prologue of the Pāli Nālaka-Sutta as found in the Sutta-Nipāta¹ on one side and Kālidāsa's Kumāra-Sambhava on the other, so with reference to the accidental unconscious beginning and maturer development of the rhythmical prose style, our old Brāhmī inscriptions represent a link of transition between some of Pāli set formulas of Buddhist precepts and the Milinda's descriptions of the city of Aśoka and the earthquake. The Pāli formulas representing an accidental unconscious beginning of the prose style of Khāravēla's inscription are being quoted below :—

I. Pāli Formulas of Buddhist Precepts—

(a) *Nacca-gīta-vāḍita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi*

[Vinaya Mahāvagga]

Nacca-gīta-vāḍita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadam

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha]

Nacca-gīta-vāḍita-visūka-dassanā-veramaṇi-sikkhāpadam samādi-
yāmi

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha-Comy.]

(b) *mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūṣana-tṭhānā vera-*
maṇi

[Vinaya Mahāvagga]

mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūṣana-tṭhānā-vera-
maṇi-sikkhāpadam

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha]

mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūṣana-tṭhānā vera-
maṇi-sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi

[Khuddaka-Pāṭha-Comy.]

1. We mean that the Sutta-Nipāta contains one of the two versions of the discourse in Indian languages, the other version being found in the Mahāvastu, III, pp. 386-87. If Dhammananda Kosambi's identification be correct, as we believe it is, this is the very discourse which was recommended for study by King Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict under the title "Moneya-Sute." The verses of the Prologue appear to be a supergrowth and later addition. As to the relation between the Pāli Prologue and the Buddhacarita, the following quotations will suffice :—

(a) Pāli Prologue—

Dadallamānaṃ siriyā anomavaṇṇaṃ

dasseṣi puttāṃ Asitaṃhayassa Sakyā.

Disvā kumāraṃ sikhim iva pajjalanttaṃ

tārāsamaṃ va nabhasigamaṃ visuddhaṃ.

(b) Buddha-Carita, III, 23 :—

Drṣṭvā ca taṃ rājasutaṃ striyastā jāṭalyamānaṃ vapuṣā siriyā ca.

II. Khāravela's Inscription—

- I. 4—*Daṃpa-nata-gītu-vāḍita-saṃdasanāhi kīḍāpayati nagariṃ.*
 I. 7—*Sava-kara-vana.anugaha-anekāni-sata-sahasāni visajati pora-jāna-padaṃ.*

Striking, indeed, is the resemblance in respect of the prose style and letter-forms which exists between the Barhut inscriptions attached as labels to two companion scenes depicting one of the Buddha-legends presupposed by those in the Lalita-Vistara¹ and the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of King Khāravela, although the latter shows a maturer development :—

I. Barhut Inscriptions—

- (a) *Utaraṃ disa tini savata-nisisāni.*
Dakhinaṃ disa cha-kāmāvacara-sahasāni.
 (b) *Sāḍikarsaṃmaduṃ turuṃ devānaṃ.*

II. Hāthi-Gumphā Inscription—

- (a) I. 3—*Sātakaniṃ pachima-disaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ.*
 (b) I. 12—*Anupadabhavanaṃ ca terasa-vesa-sata-kataṃ bhidati tamiradaha-saṃghātāṃ.*

1. Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XIV, S. Gate, Prasenajit Pillar, Middle and Lower Bas-Reliefs. The point is discussed by the author in the Buddhist India, a Buddhist Quarterly edited by Barua and Dharmacharya, Vol. I, No. 3.

8. THE CONTENTS

The contents of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription entitle it to a unique position. Among the remaining inscriptions, No. XV contains, as we saw, a table of Brāhmī alphabet and the rest are short epigraphs to label the caves to which they are attached, or to which they are intended to refer, with records commemorating the names of their excavators or builders, that is to say, of their donors. In two instances (Nos. II and XIII), the records expressly mention the class of persons for whom the caves are built,—the donee to whom the caves are meant to be dedicated. In so far as these records commemorate the names of the donors and the donee, they remind us of the Barābar Hill Cave inscriptions of King Aśoka and of the Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions of King Daśaratha. And in so far as these records stand without the expression *dāna* or *dina* signifying the act of dedication, and emphasize the excavation or building work in the verbal expression *kārita*, they remind us of the Rummideī Pillar inscription of King Aśoka and the Barhut E. Gateway inscription of King Dhanabhūti. But in the majority of the cases the inscriptions are so worded as to indicate that the caves are intended to bear the names of their excavators,—to be known as the caves of so and so, of King Kadampa-Kudepa, of Prince Vaṭukha-Vārikha and the like.

The reader will entirely misjudge to differentiate the bulk of the remaining inscriptions from Nos. II and XIV on the ground that they commemorate the names of the excavators or builders of the caves but not those of the persons for whom the caves are excavated or built. We would say that the mention of the persons for whom the caves are excavated or built is unnecessary in these inscriptions. The fact that these caves are all meant for the residence of the recluses in Kaliṅga (*Kāḷiṅgānaṁ samaṇānaṁ*) is implied in each one of these inscriptions. For reading with reference to the context supplied in the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāra-vela's thirteenth regnal year, we find that all of the 117 caves are meant to serve as *kāya-nisīdī* or resting places of the Arhats who happen to dwell on the Kumārī hill (*Kumārī-pavate Arahato parinivasato hi kāya-nisīdīyāya*).

It is not only for finding out the context of the remaining inscriptions and for understanding the specific purpose of the 117 caves excavated during the thirteenth year of Khāra-vela's reign that one is to turn one's attention to the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. One has to read the last-mentioned

inscription as well for a general record of all the architectural constructions done during Khāravēla's reign and under his auspices. This is again not all. This inscription presents a systematic record of all the notable achievements of Khāravēla, including all the works of art and architecture done under his auspices. And this, too, will be but an imperfect and inaccurate characterisation of the contents of this inscription.

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription appears to be a systematic record of Khāravēla's personal history and successive achievements. The recorded facts are presented in the garb of an autobiographical sketch. The concluding paragraph is so designed as to make the record appear as closed with the name of King Khāravēla-siri, that is, to create the impression that the record is written and signed by the king with his own hand. The invocation formula with which the record begins is meant to indicate the nature of the religious faith of the king.

The opening statement contains a succinct account of how King Khāravēla spent the first twenty-four years of his life, the first fifteen years as a young prince and the remaining nine years as a crown-prince, previous to his installation in the throne of Kālīṅga, which took place after he had completed his twenty-fourth year. Here certain relevant details are given as to the physical features and other kingly qualities of Khāravēla, the name of the royal family of which he was the scion, and the useful sciences and arts in which he acquired proficiency.

This is followed by the first year's record containing an account of how, in the very first year of his reign, King Khāravēla undertook to repair the capital of Kālīṅga, and to do all in order to please his subjects. The record expressly mentions the large amount of money spent by the king to do this work.

The second year's record contains an account of how the king, in the second year of his reign, defied King Śātakarṇi in marching towards the western quarter with a large army to attack the city of Aśvaka or Ṛṣika.

The third year's record contains an account of how the king, in the third year of his reign, entertained the city of Kālīṅga with musical performances and general feasts and festivities.

The fourth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the fourth year of his reign, consolidated his rule in Arakatapura or some other place which was inhabited by the Vidyādhara, an aboriginal race of men.

The fifth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the fifth year of his reign, facilitated communication by effecting an extension

of the old canal opened out by King Nanda so as to lead it into the capital city from the Tanasuliya or Tanasulī road. This record indefinitely hints at the amount of money spent for the purpose.

The sixth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the sixth year of his reign, showed unprecedented favours to inhabitants of the towns and districts by remitting all taxes and duties.

The seventh year's record contains an account of how the king, in the seventh year of his reign, performed all the ceremonies of victory as a public demonstration of his royal pomp and power.

The eighth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the eighth year of his reign, after having killed or stormed Gorathagiri, brought a heavy pressure to be brought upon the people of Rājagṛha and effected a timely retreat to Mathurā in order to relieve his troops terrified by the uproar of counter-attacks, and sumptuously feasted, in Mathurā as well as in Kalinga, all sections of people, those who kept to household life or those who turned ascetics, those who belonged to the Brahmanical orders or those who belonged to other religious orders. This record, too, mentions the large amount of money spent for the purpose.

The ninth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the ninth year of his reign, undertook to build a magnificent royal palace known by the name of "Great-Victory-Palace." This record expressly mentions the large amount of money spent for carrying out the project.

The tenth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the tenth year of his reign, paid proper homage to the memory of the former kings of Kalinga at the cost of a large amount of money.

The eleventh year's record contains an account of how the king, in the eleventh year of his reign, reclaimed and rehabilitated Pṛthudaka, founded by the former kings of Kalinga, by arranging to drive out its watery jungle of grass into the Lāṅgala river.

The twelfth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the twelfth year of his reign, terrorised the rulers of Uttarāpatha, subdued Brhaspatimitra, the king of Magadha, forced the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha into submission, brought back the throne of Jina from Aṅga-Magadha to Kalinga, and made improvements of the capital city by opening new roads and squares and adding gate-bars, gate-houses and towers. This record also contains an account of how the Vāsukis and the king of Pāṇḍya sent valuable presents to Khāravela.

The thirteenth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the thirteenth year of his reign, completed the excavation of 117 caves

under joint auspices of himself, his queens and others on the Kumāri hill for the resting of resident Jain saints.

The fourteenth year's record contains an account of how the king, in the fourteenth year of his reign, excavated a special cave for the residence of the recluses, ascetics and hermits from all quarters, caused stone-pillars and shrines to be made with stone-slabs quarried out of best quarries, and set up ornamented pillars in beryl chambers at the cost of a huge sum of money.

The concluding paragraph which is but a long string of nicely worded and choicest adjectives heaped upon the name of King Khāvela-siri is evidently a literary device to represent the sovran lord of Kalinga as the noblest type of kingly personality and the greatest and best of earthly warrior heroes. He is styled Khemarāja, the Lord of Security. He is styled Vadharāja, the Lord of Prosperity. He is styled Indarāja, the Lord of Kingly Power. He is styled Dhammarāja, the Lord of Justice. He is represented as a person who had the ripeness of understanding and judgment of the nature of what is conducive to human welfare. He is represented as a person gifted with special qualities; as one who honoured all sects and denominations; and as one who repaired all religious temples. He is represented as a descendant of a family of royal sages. He is represented as a great conqueror. He is represented as a most powerful king who maintained the prestige of his illustrious predecessors, who had the ability to protect his kingdom, and who secured services of the ablest and fearless ministers and officers. The Pāli Upāli-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya goes to show that this mode of praising the acknowledged high personality or this exaggerated mode of hero-worship was Jain, as will be evident from the following quotation:—

The householder Upāli who happened to be formerly a Jain by faith is represented as saying to Nigaṇṭha-Nātaputta, the historical founder of Jainism, in praise of the Buddha in whom he subsequently took refuge:—

Dhīrassa vigatamohassa pabbinna-khilassa vijita-vijayassa |
 anighassa susamacittassa vuddhaṣṭhassa sādhuṇṇassa ||
 vessantarassa vimalassa Bhagavato tassa sāvako' ham asmi ||
 * * * * *
 Taṇhacchidassa buddhassa vītadhumassa anupalittassa |
 āhuneyyassa yakkhassa uttamapuggalassa atulassa ||
 mahato yasaggappattassa Bhagavato tassa sāvako' ham asmi || ¹

1. Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 315. Upāli calls himself *sāvaka* in the sense of "a lay disciple," which accords with Jain phraseology, and not with Buddhist.

It is interesting indeed that most of the high-sounding adjectives in the Hāthi-Gumphā record are to be found in Upāli's eulogium of the Buddha : *khemarāja* = *khemarūkarā* ; *vadharāja* = *ruddasīla* ; *imḍarāja* = *purindada sakka* ; *dharmarāja* = *dharmatṭha* ; *mahāvijaya* = *vijitavijaya* ; *apaṭihata-cakka-vāhana-bala* = *appaṭipuggala* ; *rājisi-vaṃsa-kula-vinīsita* = *isisattama* ; *guṇa-visesa-kusala* = *visāradanipūṇa* ; *pasamita sunamta anubhuvanṭa kalānāni* = *satiṃ vipassī veditaveda*.

The concluding paragraph clearly brings out the fact that Khāravela's autobiographical epigraph was composed for him by a skilled composer, to whom the task of composition was entrusted. The composition must have received the warm approval of His Majesty before it was incised on the rock and set up on a hanging brow wherefrom it might attract the visitors and pilgrims of the Kumārī hill. Thus in one important respect the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela differs from the edicts of Aśoka, and the Dialogues of the Buddha, namely, that in it one misses the personal touches of the personage in whose name it stands. Both the edicts of Aśoka and the Dialogues of the Buddha make one feel as though their texts were written to dictation by some reporters and were afterwards edited by certain agents with slight changes here and there, either in the sound-system or in the expressions, the general method of the editorial agents having consisted in (1) the use of *Devānampiye Piyadasi Lājā hevaṃ āha* or a similar set clause as a literary device for paragraphic divisions ; and (2) the conversion of a direct narration into an indirect one by substituting *Devānampiye* for *lājā*, *Devānampiyena Piyadasinā lājīnā* for *me*, *mayā* and *mamayā*, and *Devānampiyasa piyadasino lājīno* for *me* and *mama*, precisely in the same way as in the Dialogues of the Buddha *Tathāgato* is substituted for *ahaṃ*, *Tathāgatena* for *me*, *mayā*, and *Tathāgatassa* for *me*, *mama*.

The Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya-Kauṭilya (II. 10, 31) prescribes certain rules of composition to be observed in drafting the royal writs. It specifies the principal qualities and defects of composition and handwriting. In accordance with the prescription in the Artha-Śāstra, the defect of composition (*lekha-doṣa*) consists in (1) *vyāghāta*—irrelevancy ; (2) *punaruktan*—repetition ; (3) *apaśabda*—non-grammatical and unidiomatic use of words and expressions ; and (4) *samplava*—irregularity. According to the same authority, the qualities of composition (*lekha-guṇa*) consist in (1) *arthakrama*—the maintenance of syntactical order and logical sequence ; (2) *sambandha*—consistency of meaning ; (3) *parīpūrṇatā*—sufficiency ; (4) *mādhurya*—elegance or exquisiteness ; (5)

audārya—refinement or propriety ; and (6) *spasṭatra*—lucidity or expressiveness. The fourteenth rock edict of Aśoka goes to show that, as early as the third century B. C., the Maurya emperor was aware of these merits and defects, at least of the fact that repetition was a defect of composition in a royal writ which might be excused only if it was needed for emphasis and elegance.

Explanations were required for repetitions and certain omissions, errors and irregularities in the edicts of Aśoka. But as regards Khāravēla's inscription, the composition of its text is free from all the defects mentioned above and is bright with the required qualities.

9. THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription was heretofore judged as an epigraph, the final record of which did not extend beyond the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign. But a weighty reason has now been found compelling us to believe that its final record extends beyond the thirteenth year, though by no means beyond the fourteenth. Its record of the thirteenth year opening with the words *Terasame ca vase* begins in the middle of the left half of l. 14 and continues to the end of the same. This particular record cannot be said to run as far as l. 15, nay, to extend as far as the left three-fourths of the total length of l. 16 as previously supposed. The thirteenth year's record in l. 14 contains a statement about the construction of 117 caves on the Kumārī hill, the twin-hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, a joint work of Khāravela and others, while the record in l. 15 and l. 16 contains a statement about some costly works of art and architecture done by Khāravela himself on the defilement of the mountain, in the proximity of the resting place of the Jain saints. Further, the thirteenth year's record in l. 14 presents a grammatical construction in Passive Voice, while the record in l. 15 and l. 16 presents a construction in Active Voice.

1. L 14—*Terasame ca vase.....satavasa-leṇa-sataṃ kārāpitaṃ.*
2. L 15 and 16 *kārayati.....patihāpayati...npādayati.*

If the foregoing reasoning be sound, there is little doubt that the final record of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription extends as far as and not beyond the fourteenth year of Khāravela's reign. And in the absence of anything to prove the contrary, there is little difficulty in representing the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as an epigraph, which was incised or put up in Khāravela's fourteenth regnal year. That is to say, this inscription was set up on a hanging brow of rock on the Udayagiri hill, in front of the Hāthi-Gumphā, about a year after the excavation of 117 caves with their inscriptions and architectural constructions.

In accordance with the thirteenth year's record, some out of 117 caves were excavated by Khāravela's queens, some by his sons, some by his relatives, some by his brothers, some by the royal servants, and the rest by himself. Going by this statement, we cannot help thinking that the caves and inscriptions standing in the name of Khāravela's chief queen, of King Kadampa-Kudepa, of Prince Vaṭukha-Varikha, of the Town-judge Bhūti, of the menial Kusuma, and of others were works, which were

commenced and finished in Khāravela's thirteenth regal year. If so, is it correct to argue on the peculiarity of certain exceptional letter-forms and to draw such a conclusion therefrom as that one among the fifteen old Brāhmī inscriptions containing an exceptional letter-form reminding us of one in the inscriptions of Aśoka is earlier by a century than the other? Will it be correct, for instance, to say with Mr. R. D. Banerji that inasmuch as in the inscription of Prince Vaḷukha-Varikha (No. IV), the *u*-sign is quite distinct, though very small in size, and the letter *kha* "has neither a triangle nor a circle at its base," the inscription itself is anterior to that of King Kadampa-Kudepa (No. III)? We may venture to think that Mr. Banerji can no longer maintain his position, and that he will be prepared to appreciate the force of our argument pressed in favour of accepting the inscriptions standing in the names of Khāravela's chief queen, King Kadampa-Kudepa, Prince Vaḷukha-Varikha, and the rest as [contemporary votive records, the records incised in Khāravela's thirteenth regal year.

10. THE ŚLOKAS CONCERNING KING AIRA OF UTKALA

Mr. Jayaswal's search for light from literature on the history of Khāravela has proved a success, at least, in so far as it has enabled him to obtain a few Sanskrit *ślokas* from an Oṛiyā MS., which is lying unedited in the archives of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. These are seven in number, and the MS. itself, though described as "old," may, in the opinion of experts, be safely assigned to the 16th century A.D., and can by no means be dated earlier than the 14th century. The *ślokas*, as cited by him in JBORS, 1917, p. 482, and reproduced by Dr. Sten Konow in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, read as follows :—

MS. LEAF B (OBVERSE)

1. Abiro nāma rājābhūt cōtkale vidyate purā |
ahimsā-dharmamāśṛtya Buddha-dharina-parāyaṇaḥ ||
2. Nandarāja suvikhyātaḥ Magadhe vidyate tadā |
sakāra-pāśako Nandaḥ Veda-dharma-parāyaṇaḥ ||
3. Nandasya sahito yuddhe Airo jītavān bhavet |
Airo jayam āpnoti mahāhr̥ṣṭena mānasaḥ ||
4. Svadharma cōtkale khyātiḥ Veda-dharma-vināśakaḥ |
Aśokasya mahāmittraḥ Airaḥ Utkaleśvaraḥ ||
5. Eka-prastara-khaṇḍe tu purāṇaḥ parvatōttamaḥ |
Khaṇḍagīṛīti nāmāsan pavitra cōtkale bhuvi ||
6. Nivāsa-karaṇārthāya daiva-bāṇī tu prāptavān |
"Asmin nivasatu rājan yāvat tiṣṭhati medinī ||
tāvat kālasu paryantaḥ tava kīṛittiḥ virājate" ||
7. Daiva-bāṇī śrute Airaḥ harsa-nirbhara-mānasaḥ |
Kosalā-nagaraṃ tyaktyā Khaṇḍaśailā-samīpatu ||

The substance of the verses, as made out by Mr. Jayaswal, is as follows :—

- "(a) That Kaliṅga had been conquered by the kings of Magadha, and that it was liberated by one Aira (king) who defeated a Nanda king of Magadha.
- (b) That the Nandas were Vedic, orthodox Hindus ; and the Aira was heterodox (Jaina or Buddhist).
- (c) That the Aira was a great enemy of Aśoka.

- (d) That the former capital of the Aira was Kosalā (South Kosala), and that the Aira removed his capital to the Khanḍagiri at 'Eka-prastara' spot."

We have nothing to say against or to add to Mr. Jayaswal's fourth point. But his first three points are misleading, and need correction.

As to his first point, we find in the verses no indication whatsoever of Kaliṅga having been conquered by the kings of Magadha and liberated afterwards by King Aira. The implication of the verses obviously is that King Nanda of Magadha who tried either to conquer Utkala or appeared as a rival in his attempt to conquer some other country, was defeated by King Aira of Utkala in a battle.

As to his second point, what the verses state is that King Nanda of Magadha who was defeated by King Aira of Utkala in a battle, which ensued between them, was an adherent of the Vedic system. The verses are reticent about the religion of other Nanda kings of Magadha.

As to his third point, it does not appear from the verses that King Aira of Utkala was a great enemy of Aśoka. Rather as a destroyer of Vedic religion and a promoter of his own faith, which was non-Vedic or anti-Vedic, he bore comparison with King Aśoka, and the greater probability is that by *mahāmītra*, as pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow, the verses were intended to represent King Aira as "a great friend of Aśoka."

In the inscriptions No. 1 and No. 3, *Aira* occurs as one of the distinctive royal titles prefixed, in the same manner, to the names of both Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa, the remaining titles being *Mahārāja*, *Mahāmegharāhana* and *Kaliṅgādhipati*. Seeing that both Khāravela and Kadampa, two kings of one and the same dynasty, bore these titles in common, especially the epithet *Aira*, it may be surmised that *Aira* was a hereditary royal title or epithet of all the kings of this dynasty reigning in Kaliṅga, in the same way that Brahmadatta was a hereditary royal title or epithet of all the kings of a particular dynasty reigning in Benares. But we are unable to see how such a surmise as made by Mr. Jayaswal could reasonably be made from the Sanskrit verses in the applauded Oṛiyā MS. In support of this surmise, he argues, saying, "It is apparent that the Aira, who lived from the time of Nanda up to Aśoka could not have been one and the same Aira. Aira therefore indicates a series of kings."

This argument of his, the force of which has freely been acknowledged by Dr. Sten Konow, is, in our opinion, unconvincing. For, in the first place, from the quoted verses, it is not at all clear that King Nanda of Magadha, referred to therein, was a pre-Mauryan Nanda king. And,

secondly, in describing King Aira of Utkala as a *mahamitra* (great-friend) of Aśoka, the intention of the author of the verses does not appear to be to say that he was also a contemporary of the latter. The purport of the verses seems to be to the effect that in so far as King Aira of Utkala was a destroyer of Vedic religion and promoter of his own faith, which was non-Vedic or anti-Vedic, he deserved, in the opinion of the author of the verses, to be described as “a great friend of Aśoka.”

As to the genuineness of two traditions embodied in the Sanskrit verses—(1) that King Aira of Utkala removed his capital from the Kosalā-city to the Ekaprastara-tract around the Khaṇḍagiri hill in Utkala, and (2) that the former capital of King Aira, who was a contemporary and victorious rival of King Nanda of Magadha, was in Kosalā or South Kosala—Mr. Jayaswal has urged two separate arguments, which are as follows :—

- (1) That the capital of Kalinga before Aśoka and after the Nandas is called Parthali (by Megasthenes) which corresponds with the Prastara of the Sanskrit verses, the Parthali which, by its location in the Khaṇḍagiri, seems to have been identical with Dhauli (Toṣali).
- (2) That, according to the Purāṇas, amongst the local dynasties which arose during the Andhra-period, there was :—
 - (a) the dynasty of Kosalā (South Kosala, which, as described in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, adjoined Uḍra or Orissa, and, as described by Hwen Tshang, adjoined Kalinga to the north-west and above the Andhra country);
 - (b) who were commonly known as the Meghas, *Megha* having been a shortened form of *Megharūhana* ;
 - (c) who were very “powerful” and “wise” ; and
 - (d) whose kings were nine in number.¹

It is possible that *Megha* was a shortened form of *Megharūhana* or *Mahāmegharūhana*. It is not impossible that nine kings of the Megha or Megharūhana dynasty, including Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa, reigned in Kalinga during the Andhra-period of Indian history. But there is

1. Kosalāyāṃ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalaḥ ।
 “Meghā ” iti samākhyāta buddhimanto navaiva tu ॥

nothing in the inscription of Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa to corroborate the tradition that the Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Kaliṅga removed their capital from Kosala to Ekaprastara-tract.

It might be, if the information supplied in the Indika of Megasthenes be at all reliable, that *Parthalis* corresponding with Ekaprastara of the verses, was the capital of Kaliṅga before the reign of Aśoka. But there is nothing in the Indika of the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta to indicate that Parthali was the capital of Kaliṅga when King Aira of Utkala was its lord. The occurrence of the name of the hill as Khaṇḍa-giri is enough to show that, whatever the source, the tradition is of a late origin. Mr. R. D. Banerji has conclusively proved by the evidence of the inscription of Udyotakeśarī that the ancient name of the Khaṇḍagiri hill, up to the 10th or 11th century A.D., was Kumāra-parvata, the expression embodying the name of the hill being *Śrī-Kumārāparvata-sthāne*. It is for Mr. Jayaswal to say when the name of the sacred hill changed into Khaṇḍagiri or Khaṇḍaśaila.

This is not all. In the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela, *Kaliṅga-nagara*, "the city of Kaliṅga," occurs as the name of the capital of Kaliṅga. This city, as the description goes, was not far removed from the *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasuli* road. That *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasuli* is the same geographical name as *Tosala* or *Tosali* is a conjecture, which awaits confirmation from independent evidence. Mr. Jayaswal has still to prove that Khaṇḍaśaila in the Ekaprastara-tract is identical with *Kaliṅga-nagara*, which is mentioned in Khāravela's inscription as the capital of Kaliṅga.

Lastly, we notice a wide discrepancy between what is stated in the Sanskrit verses and what in Khāravela's inscription concerning King Nanda of Magadha. In accordance with the statement in the Sanskrit verses, King Aira of Utkala defeated King Nanda of Magadha. And from the three statements in Khāravela's inscription, (1) that there was an aqueduct in Kaliṅga opened out by King Nanda 103 years back (*Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghūṭitaṃ paṇāḍiṃ*), (2) that the Throne of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga was carried off by King Nanda (*Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ Kāliṅga-Jināsanam*), and (3) that Pṛthudaka, founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, became a dark pool overgrown with a jungle of grass in 113 years (*Kaliṅga-puvarāja-nivesitaṃ Pithudaga-dabham anupa-dabhavanam ca terasa-vasa-sata-kataṃ Ta(i)mira-daha-saṃghātaṃ*), it is clear that the then reigning king of Kaliṅga was defeated in a battle by the then reigning King Nanda of Magadha.

It seems that the story in the Sanskrit verses is a curious medley of a certain result of the misreading of Khāravēla's inscription and a certain legend in the Purāṇas. We are, no doubt, at one with Mr. Jayaswal to think that these verses are important as confirming the correctness of the reading of the first word of Khāravēla's inscription, after the invocation formula, as *Airena* instead of *Verena* or *Kharena*.

11. THE GEOGRAPHICAL ALLUSIONS

The old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves contain certain geographical allusions, the value of which has not, as yet, been systematically discussed and fully ascertained. What are these allusions?

Of the fourteen Brāhmī inscriptions, the first ten are attached to the caves which were excavated by different donors on the hill now known by the name of Udayagiri, and the remaining four are attached, together with the table of Brāhmī alphabet, to the caves which were excavated on the hill now known by the name of Khaṇḍagiri. The two hills "form," says Major Kittoe, "part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of Orissa, extends from Autgar and Dekkunāl (in a southerly direction) past Kurdā and towards the Chilka lake, occasionally protruding through the beds of laterite."¹

These belong, according to Mr. Stirling, to a group of four small hills, which are severally called the Udayagiri, Dewalgiri, Nilgiri and Khandgiri, "are composed of a silicious sandstone of various colour and texture, and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories." This group of four hills, from 150 to 200 feet in height, is situated "about five miles west of Bhubanesar, near the village of Jaymara, in the Charsudhi Khandaity of Khurda, and still within the limits of the Khetr."²

The Khaṇḍagiri is just four or five miles north-west of Bhuvaneśvar and nineteen miles south-west of Cuttack, and is separated from the Udayagiri by a narrow glen about a hundred yards in width.³ Mr. R. D. Banerji has rightly suggested that the twin hills of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri were known to the authors of the cave-inscriptions as *Kumāra-Kumāri-parvata*, the Kumāra and Kumāri mountains. The ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri as *Kumāra-parvata* is met with in Udyota-Keśari's inscription in Lālatendu-Keśari's cave on the Khaṇḍagiri, and that of Udayagiri as *Kumāri-parvata* is met with in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela.⁴

1. JASB, Old Series, Vol. VI, p. 1079.

2. Extract from Stirling's Report on Orissa in JASB, Old Series, Vol. VI, p. 1076.

3. Kittoe's letter to Prinsep in JASB, Old Series, Vol. VI, p. 1079.

4. EI, Vol. XIII, p. 166.

Mr. Banerji has made a mere suggestion without bringing forward any arguments to prove his point or offering any explanations for its orientation. That the ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri was known to the author of Udyota-Keśari's inscription to be *Kumāra-parvata* is beyond dispute. The internal evidence of this inscription which must be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D. is enough to prove the identity between *Kumāra-parvata* and the modern Khaṇḍagiri. The inscription, dated in the 5th regnal year of Śrī-Udyota-Keśari, records the re-excavation of an old tank, the repairing of an old cave-temple and the installation of the images of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras on the sacred site of *Kumāra-parvata* as meritorious works of the donor. The text of the inscription embodying this record reads as follows :—

Srī-Udyota-Kesari-vijaya-rājya-saṃvat 5

Srī-Kumāra-parvata-sthāne jirnna vāpi jirnna isana udyotita

Tasmina thāne caturviṃśati Tirthaṅkara sthāpita.

Here the tank referred to is no other than the one which exists up till to-day on the eastern face of the Khaṇḍagiri, hewn out of the rock and sacred to both the Jains and Hindus, and the caves with images of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras installed therein are no other than those which are known now-a-days as Navamuni, Durgā and Hanumān on the same hill.

In the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela (I. 14), it is stated that His Majesty caused one hundred and seventeen caves to be made on *Kumārī-pavata* in the well-run realm of victory (*supavata-vijaya-cake*). Mr. Jayaswal and other scholars have sadly missed the real sense of the phrase *supavata-vijaya-caka*. As we have sought to show, this is just another and earlier form of the phrase *śrī-vijaya-rājya*. We mean that *supavata* is not to be equated with *suparvata*, "the noble mountain," but with *supravartta* or *supravṛtta*, "well-run," "well-conducted," and that here the word *caka* is not to be taken in the sense of a belt, but in that of a realm of command (*āṇā-cakka*). The manipulation of such an expression as *supavata-vijaya-caka* is perfectly in accord with the two of the royal epithets, *pavata-caka* and *mahā-vijaya*, attached to the name of siri-Khāravela in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (I. 16). It cannot finally be decided whether the designation *Kumārī-pavata* was restricted to one hill, the Udayagiri, or was used to denote the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. It is more probable that the author of the inscription intended to denote both the hills by a general name, just in the same way that the fashion

now-a-days is to denote both the hills, if brevity demands it, by one name, the name of Khaṇḍagiri. But this is not to deny that the Khaṇḍagiri was possibly known, as early as the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, by a separate name such as *Kumāra-parvata*. Here the case made out of the twin hills designated by a group name is on a par with that of Nārada and Parvata, the twin hills or mountain peaks designated by a common name as Nārada. If it be true, as we believe it is, that the earlier group-name was *Kumārī parvata*, that is, Udayagiri, and the later group-name was *Kumāra-parvata*, that is, Khaṇḍagiri, the historian has to find out a solution of the problem how was it that the name of Khaṇḍagiri came to receive a greater sanctity than, and gain precedence over, that of Udayagiri.

Thus it is clear that Khāravela's kingdom has been praised in his inscription as a *supavata-vijaya-caka* or "well-run realm of victory" (I. 14), an expression, corresponding to *śrī-vijaya-rājya* in Udyota-Keśari's inscription, and a grandiloquent substitute for such a simple and earlier expression as *vijita*¹ in Aśoka's R. E. II, *rāja-visaya* in Aśoka's R. E. XIII, or *raja* (*rājya*) in Dhanabhūti's inscription on the Barhut E. Gateway, in such a phrase as *Suganaṃ raje* (*Śuṅgānāṃ rājye*). What was the kingdom for which the high-sounding phrase *supavata-vijaya-caka* was coined?

One of the royal titles attached to the name of King Khāravela in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is *Kaliṃgādhipati*, "the Sovran Lord of Kaliṅga" (I. 1). The same royal title adorns the name of King Kadampa-Kudepa in his inscription (No. III). Khāravela figures in the inscription of his chief queen as *Kaliṃga-cakravati*, "the (King) Overlord of Kaliṅga" (No. II). These go at once to show that the intended kingdom was no other than Kaliṅga.

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription strikes throughout a patriotic note about Kaliṅga. In it, Khāravela is styled *Kaliṃgādhipati*, "the Sovran Lord of Kaliṅga" (I. 1). In it, he is said to have been consecrated as a *Mahārājā* or "Great Majesty" in the third generation of two kings in *Kaliṃga-rājavanśa*, "the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga" (I. 1). In it, he is said to have caused terror to the Assaka or Asika city² with the aid of the army from Kaliṅga (*Kaliṃgāgatāya senāya*, I. 3). In it, he is said to

1. Cf. *Nandarāja-vijitasmiṃ* in the *Petavatthu*, II. I, and III. 2.

2. Note that Jayaswal reads *Musika*.

3. Note that Jayaswal reads *Kaṇhabenāgatāya*.

have governed Arakatapura,¹ inhabited by the Vidyādhara, in the manner of the former kings of Kālīṅga (*Kālīṅga-puvarājānaṃ dhamena va nitinā va*, I. 4). In it, he is said to have built the Great-victory-Palace which was the Kālīṅga-royal-residence (*Kālīṅga-rājanivāsa*, I. 10). In it, he is said to have done due honour to the memory of the former kings of Kālīṅga (*Kālīṅga-Puvarājānaṃ-yasasakāraṃ*, I. 11). In it, he is said to have rehabilitated Pithuḍaga or Pithuḍa, founded by the former kings of Kālīṅga (*Kālīṅga-puvarāja-nivesita*, I. 12). Lastly, in the same record, he is said to have triumphantly brought back to Kālīṅga (*Kālīṅgaṃ āneti*) the Throne of Jina belonging to Kālīṅga which was carried away by King Nanda (*Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ Kālīṅga-Jināsanaṃ*, I. 13). And in the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen, a cave is said to have been made by Her Majesty for the residence of the honoured recluses of the Kālīṅgas (*Kālīṅgānaṃ samanānaṃ*, II)

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription clearly shows that the capital of Kālīṅga during the reign of Khāravela was *Kālīṅga-nagara*, "the city of Kālīṅga," which has been satisfactorily identified with Mukhalingam on the Vamśadhārā and the adjacent ruins in Ganjam District, Madras Presidency."² The Purle Plates of Indravarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 149, go to show that the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty had generally granted their donations from *Kālīṅga-nagara*,³ the self-same city of Kālīṅga which Prof. Sylvain Lévi seems inclined to identify with Kalingapatam,⁴ 20 miles north-east of Srikakola or Chikakol.⁵

We read in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription that as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year of his reign, King Khāravela repaired the gates, walls and buildings badly damaged by stormy wind in the city of Kālīṅga (*Kālīṅga-nagari*), raised the embankments of the deep and cool tanks, and restored all the gardens at the cost of 35,00,000 (coins), thereby enabling his subjects to be pleased (I. 2). We also read in the same inscription that His Majesty spent the first fifteen years of his life playing the princely games, and nine as a crown-prince, well-versed in the art of writing, coinage, and the rest ; and also that he belonged to the third generation of two kings belonging to the royal dynasty of Kālīṅga (*tatiye Kālīṅga-rājavamse purisa-yuge*), the kings of which may be

1. Note that another possible reading is *ahatapura* or *āhatapura*.

2. EI, Vol. IV, p. 187.

3. EI, Vol. XIV, p. 36.

4. JA, 1925, T. CCVI, pp. 50, 53, 57.

5. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, S. N. Majumdar's edition, Notes, p. 735

supposed to have been all distinguished by such royal titles as *Aira-Siri*, *Mahāmeghavāhana* and *Kaliṃyādhipati* (I, II, III). It may be safely inferred from these that the city of *Kaliṅga* was the capital of *Kaliṅga* also during the reign of the preceding two generations of two *Aira-Meghavāhana* kings each, at least, during the reign of the second generation of two kings. The city of *Kaliṅga* has been referred to in the records of the third, fifth and eighth years of *Khāravela*'s reign, and there is nothing in any of the fourteen old Brāhmī inscriptions to suggest that this city ceased to be the capital of *Kaliṅga* during the reign of the third generation of two kings, of whom *Khāravela* was one.

What was the capital of *Kaliṅga*, the land of the *Kaliṅgas*, when King *Aśoka* of *Magadha* conquered it and permanently annexed it to his empire, no one knows. What is manifest from his edicts, especially the two copies of his two Separate Rock Edicts, is that *Tosali* and *Samāpā* were two principal towns in the *Kaliṅga* Province of his empire, of which the former was a seat of *Maurya* viceroyalty. One set of his Rock Edicts and one copy of his Separate Rock Edicts have been found "inscribed on a rock called *Aswastama*, situated close to the village of *Dhauḷi*," and the modern village of *Dhauḷi* which is no other than the town of *Tosali* is "about seven miles to the south of *Bhuvaneśvar*,"¹ though one must endorse the opinion of Prof. Vincent A. Smith that the exact position of *Tosali*, as known then, "has not been ascertained."

A second set of *Aśoka*'s Rock Edicts and a second copy of his Separate Rock Edicts have been found "engraved on the face of a picturesque rock in a large old fort called *Jaugaḷa* (Lac-fort), near the bank of *Ṛṣikulyā* river, about eighteen miles to the west-north-west of the town of *Ganjam*."² Though we have no means of ascertaining the exact position of *Samāpā*, this much is certain that it was a District town of the second division of *Aśoka*'s *Kaliṅga* Province, and that it was situated somewhere in the vicinity of the *Jaugaḷa* Fort in the *Ganjam* District.

The ancient name of the rock on the face of which the *Dhauḷi* version of *Aśoka*'s Rock Edicts and Separate Rock Edicts was engraved was embodied in the *Dhauḷi* copy of his Rock Edict I. But, as bad luck would have it, exactly that portion of the inscribed surface is broken off which bore the four letters inscribing the name of the rock, and there is no means of restoring the lost name. In the present state of our knowledge, we have to be

1. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 255.

2. *Ibid*, p. 256.

satisfied with the fact that, whatever was the actual name of this rock, it had consisted of four syllables. We are very fortunate to have intact the Aśokan name of the Jaugaḍa rock in the Jaugaḍa copy of Aśoka's Rock Edict I, in the statement : *Iyaṃ dhammalipi Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi Devānampiyena Piyadasinā lājinā likhāpita.*

"This Edict of the Law was caused to be inscribed by His Gifted Majesty and Grace the King on Mt. Khapiṃgala." Thus the recorded name is found to be *Khapiṃgalapavata*, "the Khapiṃgala mountain."

Now, comparing the two statements, one in the Dhauli copy containing the lost Aśokan name of the Dhauli rock and the other in the Jaugaḍa copy containing the Aśokan name of the Jaugaḍa rock, and noticing how closely these agree with each other, and bearing in mind that the missing name in the Dhauli copy, precisely like *Khapiṃgala* in the Jaugaḍa version, consisted of four syllables, one cannot help feeling inclined to think that the same also was the name in the Dhauli copy.¹ If these were correct, one might have reasonably taken *Khapiṃgala* to be the name, not of an isolated rock, but that of a range or group of hills representing the northern extension of the Eastern Ghats and extending along the sea-coast of Kalinga in its eastern extremity. We are not pressing this as an established fact, but just what is possible, if *Khapiṃgala* occurred as a common name in both the copies. Even if this were an established fact, the problem would have remained, whether the *Kumārāparvata* of Udyota-Keśari's inscription and the *Kumārīparvata* of Khāravela's inscription would have been included in the Khapiṃgala range known in Aśoka's time.

The Fragment LVI of the Indika of Megasthenes mentions *Parthalis* as the royal city of the *Calingæ* representing the tribes that dwelt by the Ganges, nearest the sea. *Partualis* is the spelling of the name which appears in one of the foot-notes of the Fragment XX. B in Prof. McCrindle's translation. *Portalis* is evidently a simpler form of the spelling *Partualis*, which has been suggested in the second foot-note of the Fragment LVI. M. de St. Martin would identify the royal city of the *Calingæ* with Vardhana (contraction of Varddhamāna), now Burdwan. Prof. McCrindle thinks that the *Calingæ* were a great and widely diffused tribe that settled mainly between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, and that their capital was situated "on the Mahānadī, higher up than the site of Katak." And Mr. Jayaswal, as we saw, takes *Parthalis* in good

1. Dhauli : *Iyaṃ.....si pavatasi.*

Jaugaḍa : *Iyaṃ dhammalipi Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi.*

faith to be the correct and only spelling, and identifies *Parthalis* with the *Ekaprastara* tract which, according to the story of the Sanskrit verses quoted from an old Oṛiyā MS., was the site of the new capital of King Aira of Utkala, around Khaṇḍagiri. Because Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, happened to mention *Parthalis* as the royal city of the *Calingæ*, he safely assumes that *Parthalis* was the capital of Kaliṅga in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, nay, also during the reign of King Nanda who is mentioned in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, and who, according to him, was no other than Nanda referred to in the Sanskrit verses as the king of Magadha defeated by King Aira of Utkala in a battle fought between them. The implication of this is that *Pithuḍaga* or *Pithuḍa* became abandoned to its fate 102 years (113-11) previous to the consecration of Khāravela.

In the same inscription (I. 6), we read that His Majesty brought into his capital, from the *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasulī* road, the canal which was opened out by King Nanda 103 years back (*Nandarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭitam, panāḍim*). This canal must have been opened out 98 years (103-5) previous to the consecration of Khāravela.

In the same inscription (I. 13), we also read that His Majesty brought back to Kaliṅga, from Aṅga-Magadha, the throne of Jina which had been carried off from Kaliṅga by King Nanda (*Nandarāja-nītam Kālīmga-Jināsanam*).

Now squaring up these three statements, it becomes easy to understand (1) that Kaliṅga was under the sway of King Nanda of Aṅga-Magadha, at least, from the 102nd to the 98th year previous to the reign of Khāravela ; (2) that *Pithuḍaga* or *Pithuḍa*, founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, became abandoned to its fate with the advent of King Nanda in Kaliṅga ; (3) that here by the former kings of Kaliṅga Khāravela wanted to mean those kings of Kaliṅga who had reigned before Kaliṅga was conquered by King Nanda ; and (4) that the rule of King Nanda in Kaliṅga ended when the dynasty of Kaliṅga kings to which Khāravela himself belonged came into power.

It cannot be confidently maintained that *Parthalis* or *Partualis*, mentioned in the Indika of Megasthenes as the royal city of the *Calingæ*, was a Greek pronunciation of the name of the tract called *Eka-prastara* or *Prastara* which, according to the Sanskrit verses in Mr. Jayaswal's Old Oṛiyā MS., became the site of the new capital of King Aira of Utkala, whose former capital was the Kosalā-city, and that in other words, *Parthalis* or *Partualis* was the capital of Kaliṅga in the days of King Nanda of

Magadha who is supposed to have been a pre-Mauryan Indian monarch and a contemporary of King Aira of Utkala.

A presumption without convincing proofs may be utterly devoid of truth in sober history. In order to maintain (1) that *Parthalis* or *Partualis* in the Indika was a Greek spelling of *Eka-prastara* or *Prastara* in the Sanskrit verses, (2) that King Nanda of Magadha mentioned as a contemporary of King Aira of Utkala was a pre-Mauryan Nanda king, and (3) that *Parthalis* or *Prastara* was the capital of Kaliṅga when King Aira of Utkala reigned there in the days of Chandragupta Maurya when Megasthenes was in India, one must be sure (1) that *Parthalis* or *Partualis* is mentioned in the Indika as a tract, like *Eka-prastara*, around the Khaṇḍagiri, and (2) that there is mention of any Aira King of Utkala or Kaliṅga as a contemporary of a Nanda king of Magadha who was a precursor, *à posteriori*, of Chandragupta Maurya. But nothing is surer than that one cannot be sure about these two points. We are entirely in the dark as to who, among the kings of Kaliṅga, were contemporaries of the pre-Aśokan Maurya kings and pre-Mauryan Nanda kings of Magadha.

In Khāravela's inscription (I. 12), we have mention of a place founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga and known by the name of *Pithuḍaya* or *Pithuḍa*, which had become, in 113 years, a watery jungle of grass.

The city of Kaliṅga could not have been very far from the *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasulī* road wherefrom the canal opened out by King Nanda 103 years back was brought into it by King Khāravela in the fifth year of his reign. The reading *Tanasuliya* is certain. The plaster casts and estampages of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription leaves no chance for the reading of the second letter as *u*. If the inscribed name might be read as *Tausaliya* or *Tausalī*, it could have been easily equated with *Tosali*. But read as *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasulī*, it remains to be seen how the name could be equated with *Tosali* (*passim*). We have noted that *tana*, the first member of the compound, occurs in one of the verses of the Mahāvamśa as the opposite of *mahā*: *Mahāsīva*, *Sīva*. *Tanasīva*. And *suliya*, the second member of the compound, must be treated either as an equivalent in an eastern dialect of the Pāli *suriya*, or of the Sk. *sūryya*, or as a form of *sulī* conjoined with the suffix *ya*. The first alternative is less likely for the reason that the general tendency of the dialect of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is to replace *l*-sound by *r*-sound, unless it be supposed that the name has been retained as it was locally pronounced. If *Tanasuliya* be regarded as an equivalent of *Tanasuriya*, it must be rendered in English: "the Little Sun-temple (road)." If, on the other hand, it be regarded as a form of

Tanasulī conjoined with the suffix *ya*, it must be rendered : “ the Little Śiva temple (road),” *sulī* being one of the epithets of Śiva. Anyhow, it is certain that the opposite of *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasulī* is *Mahāsuliya* or *Mahāsulī*. If so, it may be shown that *Pithuḷaga* or *Pithuḷa*, the site of the former capital of Kalinga, was just in the neighbourhood of the city of Kalinga.

Pithuḷaga is the same name as *Pr̥thuḷaka* in Sanskrit, and *Pithuḷa* is but a shortening from *Pithuḷaga*, a word which is the same in meaning as *bahūdaka*, “abounding in many waters,” “the watery.” The same significance of the name may be gathered, I think, from a legend in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa regarding the origin of the name of *Pr̥thudaka* or *Pehoa*, “Pr̥thu’s pool,” an old town near Thaneswar.¹ The Gaṇḍavyūha which is a Buddhist work in Sanskrit and counted among the *mahā-vaipulya-sūtras* by the Buddhists of Nepal, contains an interesting account of the wanderings of a Buddhist seeker of truth in the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpathe). In it, the Buddhist learner concerned has been represented as travelling from Mūlaka (on the bank of the Godāvarī, near Patiṭṭhāna or Paithan²) to Naladhvaja, from Naladhvaja to Suprabha, from Suprabha to Sarva-grāma of Tosala in Amitatosala, and from thence to *Pr̥thurāṣṭra*. This *Pr̥thurāṣṭra* is apparently not different from what Ptolemy in his work on geography (VII. 1. 93), calls *Pitundra-metropolis*, *Pitundra*, the capital, *Pitundra* which was a Greek spelling, as shown by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, of *Pihumḷa*.³ The following note on *Pitundra* from the pen of Prof. Sylvain Lévi is worth quoting in this connection :—

“Ptolemy,” says Prof. Sylvain Lévi, “describing the towns situated in the interior of the country of *Maisoloi* (VII. 1. 93), designates its capital *Pitundra-metropolis*. The country of *Maisoloi* or *Maisolia* (VII. 1. 15) lent its name to the river *Maisolos* which represents the group of the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. The Periplus writes *Masalia* instead of *Maisolia*. Since a long time the scholars have equated *Maisoloi* or *Maisolia* with *Masuli*, the denomination in the first word contained in the well known name of *Masulipatam* (*patam*=*paṭṭana*, the town)

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 335.

2. Sutta-Nipāta, Pārāyana-Vagga, Vatthugāthā, verse 977. *Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa (Mūlakassa) samāsane, Godhāvari-kule*. For the discussion of the information contained in the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, see *pussim*.

3. JA, 1925, T. CCVI. p. 61.

near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā).¹ *Maisolia* extended in the north up to *Paloura*, or more accurately, up to the equator in the neighbourhood of *Paloura*. Ptolemy locates *Pitundra* in the interior of *Maisolia*, between the mouths of (the two rivers) *Maisolos* and *Manadus*, to put it otherwise, between the delta of the Godāvāri and the Mahānadi, nearly at an equal distance from both. It would, therefore, be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Chikakol and Kalingapatam, towards the course of the river Nāgāvali which bears also the name of Lāṅguliya, the 'River of the Plough.' The Imperial Gazetteer of India itself indicates this etymology: *lāṅgala*, Sanskrit; *nagula*, Telugu. This denomination evokes, bringing nearer the souvenir of *Pitundra*, the text of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription in which Khāravela flatters himself having ploughed with the plough the soil of *Pithuda*,² or as we prefer to read and interpret it, "having let out the grassy jungle of *Pithudaga* into *Nāṅgala*, the river *Lāṅgala* (Lāṅguliya)."³

Prof. Sylvain Lévi draws attention to the story of Samudrapāla in Lec. XXI of the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra, in which there is mention of *Pikunḍa* as a sea-coast town reminding us at once of Khāravela's *Pithudā-Pithudaga* and Ptolemy's *Pitundra*.⁴ This story clearly shows that *Pithudā* was an emporium of trade which could be reached from Campā by the merchant vessels that had to follow a sea-route to complete their voyage. Campā, as we all know, was the capital of Aṅga, situated on the lower course of the Ganges, and the story in question relates that a Jain merchant named Pālita, who was a native of Campā, had a son born to him at sea (*samudra*) when he was returning home with his wife from *Pikunḍa*, where he went for the purpose of trade and happened to win the hand of the daughter of a merchant of the place. The father chose Samudrapāla, "the Protégé of the Sea," as the name of the boy then born at sea.⁵ There can be little doubt that *Pikunḍa* in Ardha-Māgadhī is the same geographical name as *Pithudā-Pithudaga* in Khāravela's inscription, Ptolemy's *Pitundra*, the capital of *Maisoloi-Maisolia*, and *Pṛthurāstra* in the Gaṇḍavyūha.

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1. For the historic name and etymology of Masulipatam, see Yule-Burnell, *sub voce*.
 2. Translated from the French in JA, 1925, T. CCVI, pp. 60-61.
 3. Named *Lāṅgalinī* in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa.
 4. JA, 1925, T. CCVI, pp. 57-58.
 5. Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras (B. E.), Part II. p. 108.

According to the unanimous testimony of the Jātakas, particularly of two versions¹ of the Mahāgovinda-Suttanta which represents one of the earliest forms in which one finds the Jātakas in Buddhist literature, Dantapura was the earlier capital of Kālīṅga, as early as when Kāśī was an empire with Kālīṅga as one of its provinces. The couplet in the Suttanta-Jātaka² mentioning *Dantapura* as the capital of Kālīṅga,³ the land of the Kālīṅgas, is found to be a quotation from an earlier chronicle of seven Purohitas in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya,⁴ embodied in a prose-story, which has not, as yet, assumed the character of a Jātaka.⁵ *Dantapura*, which is no other than *Dantakura* in the Mahābhārata⁶ and *Dantagula* in Pliny's Natural History, has been definitely identified by Prof. Sylvain Lévi with Ptolemy's *Paloura* and modern *Paloura* near Chicacole in the Ganjam District. When exactly *Dantapura-Paloura* ceased to be the capital of Kālīṅga we cannot say. But it is certain that it had been the capital of Kālīṅga before *Pithudā-Pitundra* became the royal city. It may be safely concluded from the foregoing discussion that the transfer of the capital from *Dantapura* to *Prthudaka* must have taken place before the advent of King Nanda in Kālīṅga and before the establishment of the rule of the royal dynasty of Kālīṅga to which Khāravela himself belonged.

The Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka (Fausböll's No. 522) refers to a time when Kāśī was just an independent kingdom, which existed side by side with the kingdom of King Daṇḍakī. The city of Kumbhavatī was the capital of Daṇḍakī's kingdom, of Daṇḍaka, measuring 60 *yojanas* long. Daṇḍakī was a powerful emperor, whose supremacy was freely acknowledged by Kālīṅga, the king of the land of the Kālīṅgas (*Kālīṅga-rājā*). King Kālīṅga is described as one of the lords of the subordinate kingdoms (*antararatthūdhīpatino*). The prosperity of the Daṇḍaka empire and the

1. One in the Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. II, and the other in the Mahāvastu.

2. Mahāgovinda-Suttanta enlisted as a Suttanta-Jātaka in the Culla-Niddesa, p. 80.

3. *Dantapura Kālīṅgānaṃ Assakānaṃ ca Potanaṃ |*
Māhīsatī Avantīnaṃ Sovīraṇaṃ ca Rorukaṃ |
Mithilā ca Videhānaṃ, Campā Aṅgesu māpitā |
Bārānaśī ca Kāśīnaṃ ete Govinda-māpitā ||

4. Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part III, pp. 371-373.

5. That is, it has not the concluding identification.

6. See for references and quotations, Sylvain Lévi's *Notes Sur la Géographie Ancienne de L'Inde*, I. *Paloura-Dantapura* in JA, 1925, T. CCVI, pp. 46-57.

subordination thereto of Kalinga are the annals, if we are to believe the *Jātaka*, of the political history of ancient India before the rise of Kāśī to the status of an empire. The *Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka* which contains a pathetic story of the dire calamity that befell the kingdom of Daṇḍakī and brought utter destruction upon it, indicates a turning point in the political history of ancient India, in the subsequent chapter whereof the historian is to look for the annals of the rise and influence of the Kāśī empire. If it be true that the Buddhist Birth-story in the *Mahāgovinda-Suttanta* is an annal of the full flowering of the Kāśī empire with Kalinga, Aśvaka, Avantī, Sauvīra, Videha and Aṅga as the six subordinate kingdoms under it, we have to understand that *Dantapura* became the royal city of Kalinga during the supremacy of Kāśī, and not before.

The *Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka* does not mention the name of the capital of Kalinga when it was a subordinate kingdom under Daṇḍaka. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of a time when a matrimonial alliance came to be established between the Kuru kingdom and Kalinga by the marriage of the Kuru prince Duryyodhana with the Kalinga princess Citrāṅgadā,—when *Hastinā-pura* was the capital of the Kuru kingdom and *Rājapura* that of Kalinga.¹

Some of the Indologists are inclined to identify *Rājapura* with *Rajmahendri* on the Godāvarī river, '251 miles to the south-west of Ganjam,' which became the capital of the junior or eastern branch of the Chalukya princes of Veṅgi from the time of the conquest of Kalinga by the Chalukya king of Veṅgi in circa 750 A.D. and the removal of the Chalukya capital from *Veṅgipura* to *Rājamahendri*. The remains of the former "still exist at Vegi, 5 miles (more accurately, 7 miles) to the north of Ellur, and 50 miles to the west-south-west of *Rājamahendri*."²

Mr. Manomohan Ganguli doubts the soundness of the identification proposed evidently on the basis of an 'accidental coincidence of prefixes.'³ *Rājapura* is phonetically the same geographical name as the modern *Raipur*. As regards the connection of *Rājapura* in the *Mahābhārata* with *Rāja mahendri*, some light might perhaps be obtained from the *Mahāvastu* which professes to be the first work of the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Lokōttaravādi section of the Mahāsaṅghikas. This great Buddhist work in Sanskrit, dealing with a previous birth-story of three Kāśyapa brothers who are to be counted among the first Buddhist converts and

1. *Mahābhārata* XII, 4,3.

2. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Majumdar, pp. 590-592.

3. Manomohan Ganguli's *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 8.

immediate disciples of the Buddha Śākyamuni, relates that they were born, in a former life, as three half-brothers of the previous Buddha Puṣpa or Puṣya and sons of King Mahendra of *Hastināpura*, by one mother (*ekamātṛikā trayo bhrātaro*), and reigned together amicably in the city of *Siṃhapura*, in the land of the Kalingas,¹ *Siṃhapura* which is identified by Prof. Dubreuil with modern Singupuram near Chicacole.²

The source from which the tradition in the *Mahāvastu* was derived is unknown. The Pāli version of the previous birth-story of the three Kāśyapa brothers, as found in Buddhaghosa's *Manoratha-Pūraṇi*, Part I, speaks of King Mahendra without any reference to *Hastināpura*, and speaks of the three half-brothers of the previous Buddha Puṣya without any reference to Kalinga and *Siṃhapura*, and, curiously enough, in this respect, the Pāli version of the story is completely in accord with the narration in the verses quoted in the *Mahāvastu*.³ Moreover, the *Buddhavaṃsa* which is a Pāli canonical work belonging to the *Sutta-Piṭaka* and the *Nidāna-Kathā* of the Pāli *Jātaka-commentary* present a life of the previous Buddha Puṣya, which differs entirely in its details from that in the *Mahāvastu* or in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. In these circumstances, the *Mahāvastu* tradition of the reign of Rājā Mahendra in *Hastināpura* and of the reign of his three sons in the *Siṃhapura* city of Kalinga must be regarded as the growth of an age later than the date of composition of the *Buddhavaṃsa* and earlier than the date of composition of Buddhaghosa's *Manoratha-Pūraṇi* and of the *Mahāvastu* in its extant form. Be that as it may, the importance of the prose version of the story in the *Mahāvastu* lies in the fact that it enables us to account for the foundation of a royal city in Kalinga commemorating the name of Rājā Mahendra.

The historical fact behind the Buddhist story in the *Mahāvastu* is not probably far to seek. We learn from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta that Kosala or South Kosala was the first kingdom in South India (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*) against which the great invader from the north directed his first attack, and that the first king in South India

1. *Mahāvastu*, edited by Senart, T. III, pp. 432-433.

2. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 94.

3. *Mahāvastu*, T. III, p. 433 :

Rājño Mahendrasya mahīm praśāsato |
Dharmena jñānam ca samādāya-vartino ;
Trayo bhrātaro asya samānacārino

who was defeated by him was King Mahendra of Kosala. This Kosala or South Kosala as may be now ascertained, "comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Ganjam."¹ "Its capital was *Śrīpura*, the modern Sirpur about 40 miles east by north from Raipur."²

None need be surprised that the Buddhist story under notice³ grew up round the tradition of King Mahendra of Kosala or South Kosala who was a contemporary of Samudragupta, and that *Hastināpura*, which is said to have been the capital of King Mahendra, was just another name for *Śrīpura*. The story distinctly says that Kaliṅga was conquered and governed by the three sons of King Mahendra for their father. We may understand from this that Kaliṅga proper was treated as a seat of viceroyalty with its official headquarters at *Siṃhapura* or Singupuram near Chicacole.

Thus our enquiry concerning the successive capitals of Kaliṅga leads us to a point where we have to recognise (1) that the capital of the kingdom during the reign of Khāravela and other kings of the Aira-Meghavāhana dynasty was *Kaliṅga-nagara*, the modern *Mukhaliṅgam* on the Vamśadhārā in the Ganjam district; (2) that *Pithudaga-Pithudā* was the capital of the former kings of Kaliṅga before the advent of King Nanda of Aṅga-Magadha in Kaliṅga and the reign of the kings of the Aira-Meghavāhana dynasty; (3) that *Tosali-Dhanū* and *Samāpā* were respectively the official headquarters of two divisions of Kaliṅga during the reign of King Devānampriya Aśoka of Magadha; (4) that the still earlier capital of the kingdom was *Dantapura-Paloura* near Chicacole; (5) that the capital of the kingdom under Daṇḍaka is unknown; (6) that *Śrīpura-Hastināpura* and *Siṃhapura-Singupuram* were respectively the seats of government in South Kosala and Kaliṅga proper during the reign of Rājā Mahendra in the middle of the 4th century A.D.; (7) that *Rājamahendvī* became the Chalukya capital in Kaliṅga in the 8th century A.D.; and (8) that the city of Kaliṅga again became the capital of the kingdom in the 11th century A.D. when the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty made themselves masters thereof.

Now we shall pursue an enquiry concerning the territorial extension and political divisions of Kaliṅga during the reign of Khāravela, as well

1. & 2. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 337-338.

3. According to the Buddhavaṃsa and the Jātaka Nidāna-Kathā, the previous Buddha Puṣya, was the son of King Jayasena of Kāśī.

as concerning the ranges of Khāravela's military expeditions and conquests. It will be our interest also to indicate the regions where the influence of his military powers was felt and openly acknowledged. As regards all these points, we are to attempt to draw our conclusions from the following data that may be gathered from the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription and other sources, epigraphic and literary, which are now within our reach.

The old Brāhmī inscriptions are all found attached as labels to the caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills which are situated about five or six miles north-west of Bhuvaneswar and at a distance of a few miles from the village of Dhauli-Tosali that lies about seven miles south of Bhuvaneswar. That is to say, our old Brāhmī inscriptions and the Dhauli copy of Aśoka's Rock Edicts and Separate Rock Edicts are found engraved at a distance of a few miles on the rocks or hills that are included in the modern Puri District of Orissa.

It is clearly implied in the edicts of Aśoka, especially in the two copies of his two Separate Rock Edicts, that his Kālīṅga province comprised two political divisions, the first or presidency division of which the official headquarters was *Tosali-Dhauli*, and the second division of which the official headquarters was *Samāpā*, and that adjoining thereto were the outlying unconquered tracts (*amṭā avijitā*). The names of the two divisions of Aśoka's Kālīṅga province are not mentioned in his edicts. But we learn from the Gaṇḍavyūha account of the wanderings of a Buddhist seeker of truth in South India that *Sarvagrāma* was a locality in *Toṣala*, while *Toṣala*, undoubtedly a city corresponding to Aśoka's Tosali, was located in *Amitatoṣala*, and that beyond *Amitatoṣala* was *Prthurāṣṭra*, which has been identified with *Pithuḍaga-Pithuḍa* in Khāravela's inscriptions, *Pihumḍa* in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-śūtra and *pitundra* in Ptolemy's work on Geography. It may be easily inferred from this that Aśoka's *Tosali-Toṣala* was the chief town of a division of the same name, *Amitatoṣala*, *Tosali* or *Toṣala*. Here the crux is—does the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription offer us any information about the existence of a political division of Kālīṅga by the name of *Amitatoṣala*, *Tosali* or *Toṣala*? Whether it does or not depends solely on the accuracy or inaccuracy of the identification of *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasuli* with *Tosali*.

It is evident from the record of Khāravela's fifth regnal year that Kālīṅga-nagara, the capital of Khāravela's kingdom of Kālīṅga, was not far from the *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasuli* road wherefrom a canal opened out by King

Nanda was led by extension into the city of Kalinga. We have seen that *Tanasuliya* or *Tanasuli* is a name which stands in contrast to *Mahāsuliya* or *Mahāsuli*, *tana* or *tanu* being the opposite of *mahā* or *maha*. We are to bear in mind that Kalimṅga-nagara is the modern Mukhalingam on the vaṃśadhārā river and the adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district of Madras Presidency. We are to remember that Pithudaga-Pithuḷa referred to in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as the earlier capital of Kalinga is not different from Pṛthurāṣṭra in the Gaṇḍavyūha which lay just beyond *Amitatoṣala-Toṣala*, from Pihumḍa in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra which was a sea-coast town reachable by the Indian merchant ships sailing from Campā, the capital of Aṅga, and from Ptolemy's Pitundra which was the metropolis of *Maisolia-Maisoli* and is located by Prof. Sylvain Lévi somewhere near Chicacole in the Ganjam district. We are also to keep in mind that the Periplus writes *Masalia* for *Maisolia-Maisololi*. Thus in Ptolemy's *Maisolia-Maisoloi*, written as *Masalia* in the Periplus, we trace the nearest Greek spelling of *Mahāsuliya-Mahāsuli*, which is the suggested antithesis of *Tanasuliya-Tanasuli*.

Apparently *Tanasuliya-Tanasuli* and *Mahāsuliya-Mahāsuli* stand, in their contrast, on a par with *Toṣala* and *Mosala*, which, as noted by Mr. Jayaswal, are mentioned as two among the three divisions of Kalinga in the Kāvya-mālā edition of the Bhāratīya-Nāṭya-Sāstra, Ch. XIV, Verse 40, where one reads :—

Kosalās-Toṣalūścaiva Kalingā yū ca Mosalāḥ.

The text of the quoted line may be so interpreted as to mean that the kingdom of Kalinga consisted of these three divisions : *Toṣala*, *Mosala*, and *Kosala*. We have in M. Joanny Grosset's edition *Yavanosala* instead of *Mosala*, which may not be copyist's mistake but rather an interesting variant indicating that *Mosala* was known to some of the copyists as a locality associated with the Yavanas. The importance of the text in the Kāvya-mālā edition lies in the fact that here *Mosala* occurs as the final form of phonetic decay : *Mahāsuliya*, *Maisolia*, *Maisoloi*, *Masalia*, *Masuli*, *Mosala*, three missing links being *Mahāsuli*, *Masali* and *Mosali*. We maintain that in a similar manner *Toṣala* may be treated as the final form of phonetic decay from *Tanasuliya* : *Tanasuliya*, *Tosali*, *Toṣala*, the missing links, among others, being *Tansalia* and *Tansali*. If so, we may draw this conclusion that *Tanasuli*, *Tosali* or *Toṣala* was that division of Kalinga of which the official headquarters was somewhere near the Kumāri-parvata or Udayagiri, and that it extended along the sea-coast, at least, from the

Nilgiri to the Chilka lake during the reign of Khāravela, and may be, also during the reign of Aśoka.

What was precisely the southern limit of the second division, called *Mosala* or *Mosali* in the *Bhāratiya Nāṭya-Sāstra*, whether during the reign of King Aśoka or during the reign of King Khāravela we cannot say. From the texts and location of the Rock and Separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka, it may be clearly ascertained (1) that Samāpā was the official headquarters of the second division, (2) that the second division occupied, if it was not co-extensive with, the modern Ganjam district, and (3) that his Kalinga Province was guarded along its eastern sea-coast, from the Jaugaḍa hill-fort to the rock at Dhauli, by a range of hills, which was perhaps known by the name of *Khapiṅgala-parata*. This range of hills was nothing but a northern or upward extension of the Eastern ghats, and, probably no other than what is called *Palapīṇjara* in the *Bhāratiya Nāṭya-Sāstra*.¹ If it be correct, as Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests, that the Kalinga Province of King Aśoka abutted in the south on the territory of the Andhras, counted among the vassal tribes within the dominions of the great Maurya emperor, and that the strips of territory occupied then by them included the Godāvari and Kistna Districts, we may safely conclude that the second division of Aśoka's Kalinga Province did not extend in the south beyond the Godāvari river. And if King Aśoka had anything to do with the canal referred to in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as an excavation of King Nanda near the *Tanasuliya* or *Tosali* road, we may understand that the second division of Kalinga extended during the reign of the Maurya emperor from the mouth of the Vamśadhārā to that of the Godāvari. It is clear from the inscription of King Khāravela that during his reign the *Tanasuliya* or *Tosali* road was not far from the city of Kalinga which is identified with Mukhalingam on the Vamśadhārā. If it was possible for King Khāravela to cause the grassy jungle of a swamp in Pithuḍa-Pitundra to be let out into the Naṃgala or Lāṅgala river, we must understand that Pithuḍa-Pitundra was situated somewhere near the course of the river Nāgāvali which bears also the name of Lāṅguliya, "the river of the plough,"—the Lāṅgālini river which finds mention in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa along with the Vamśadhārā. We have seen that

1. *Bhāratiya Nāṭya-Sāstra*, XIV.

Ptolemy locates Pitundra-Pithuṭa between the mouths of the rivers *Maisolos* and *Manadas*, which is to say, between the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī, nearly at an equal distance from both. Seeing that both Kalīṅga-nagara and Pithuṭaga mentioned in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription lay outside of the *Tanāsuliya* or *Tosoli* division and fell within the second division, we may be pretty certain about the extension of the second division of Kalīṅga during the reign of King Khāravela from the mouth of the Vamśadhārā to as far south as the mouth of the Godāvarī, if not further south.

The manner in which King Aśoka mentions in his edicts the kingdoms that lay outside of, and the territories that lay within, his empire enables us to conceive that, as early as the 3rd century B.C., just beyond the land of the Kalīṅgas towards the south was the principality of the Andhras, that just beyond the latter was the independent kingdoms of the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas extending as far south as Tāmraparṇi (*nicaṃ Corā Pāṇḍiyā aram Tumbapamṇiyā*).

Our old Brāhmī inscriptions are wanting in such clear data concerning the southern limit of the *Mahāsuliya-Mosali* division of the Kalīṅga kingdom of King Khāravela. These are totally silent about the Andhras and the Cholas. But the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription records that, in the twelfth regnal year of King Khāravela, the King of Pāṇḍya supplied him with the most valuable presents of pearls, gems and jewels and various kinds of apparels (*Paṇḍa-rājā vividhābharaṇāni mūtā-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sata-sahasāni*). In the absence of any mention of the Andhras and the Cholas, there may not be much difficulty in imagining that the second division of Khāravela's Kalīṅga stretched along the sea-coast even beyond the Godāvarī, and as far south as the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā, if it was then known, as supposed, by the name of *Mahāsuliya-Maisolia-Mosali-Mosala*. Anyhow, the problem remains why the Andhras and the Cholas whose principalities lay to the north of Pāṇḍya have been passed over in silence in the inscription of King Khāravela.

A clear hint might be taken from one of the geographical allusions in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription in establishing the fact that the suzerainty of King Khāravela of Kalīṅga was felt in the south, along the eastern coast of the Deccan, into the very heart of the land of the Cholas, below the Kṛṣṇā, below the Pennar, as far down as the northern limit of the kingdom of Pāṇḍya. The allusion referred to above is in the record of Khāravela's fourth regnal year wherein we read that His Majesty caused *Arakatapura*, the city of *Arakata*, inhabited by a race of magicians called

Vidyādharas (*Vijādharaḍḍhivāsa Arakatapura*), to be governed according to the established usage and administrative principle of the former kings of Kālīṅga, by the highest kind of law, and that he compelled all the tribal chiefs and village headmen of the place (*sava-raṭṭhika-bhojake*) who trembled in fear, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and golden vases were taken away, and who were robbed of their jewels and riches, to bow at his feet (l. 5). *Arakata* or *Arakaṭa* is the same kind of geographical name as *Parakaṭa Bhojakaṭa*, or *Bibikānadikaṭa* in the Barhut votive labels, and phonetically it is the same name as the modern *Arcot* which is wrongly "believed to be quite modern."¹ The Greek geographer Ptolemy speaks of a northern kingdom of *Sorae Nomades*, the Sora nomads, which lay between Mount Bettigo and Adeisathros.² With regard to the royal city of these nomads, in some editions of Ptolemy's work, the statement is *sora regia Arcati*, "Sora, the capital of *Arcatos*," and in some editions, it occurs as *Arcati regia Sora*, "*Arcatos*, the capital of Sora." The latter reading has come to be accepted as the correct representation of Ptolemy's statement, and Dr. Caldwell identifies Ptolemy's *Arcati-Arcatos* with the modern *Arkad* or *Arcot*. Sir Alexander Cunningham considers the *Sorae Nomades* of Ptolemy to be a branch of the Sauras, a race of aborigines, "who are still located on the banks of the Kistna river"³ while Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Sora of Ptolemy "can easily be recognised to be the Tamil Sora or Choḍa."⁴ If Prof. Bhandarkar's suggestion has any truth in it, one has to understand that the dwellers of Ptolemy's *Arcati-Arcatos* were a race of the Chola nomads. Khāravēla's inscription also distinctly says that the inhabitants of *Arakatapura* were the Vidyādharas, an aboriginal people noted for their magical skill. The mention of *Arakatapura* in Khāravēla's inscription and that of *Arcati-Arcatos* in Ptolemy's work set at once at nought the belief about the modern origin of the name of *Arkad-Arcot*, near Madras. If this identification be correct, it will be a mistake to suppose that the words *raṭṭhika* and *bhojaka* as used in Khāravēla's inscription have precisely the same implication as that in Aśoka's edicts. As used in Khāravēla's inscription, the words are to be treated rather as titular designations than as names of any semi-independent tribes.⁵

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 626.

2. IA, Vol. VIII, p. 362.

3. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 627.

4. Bhandarkar's Asoka, p. 89.

5. Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part III, pp. 76, 78, 300. Manoratha-Pūraṇi, Siamese edition, Part III, p. 119 : *Raṭṭhiko' ti yo raṭṭham bhuṇṇati-Gāmagāṃiko' ti gāma-bhojako*.

But, upon the whole, one must take the river Godāvari as the southern boundary of Khāravela's Kālīṅga, which appears to have extended along the Vindhya range as far as the western valley of the Godāvari. In the western direction, the only great royal power which King Khāravela had to reckon with was that of King Śātakarṇi, whose territories must have comprised a number of small states near about the western valley of the Godāvari. In the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, in the record of King Khāravela's second regnal year, we read that His Majesty, without taking King Śātakarṇi into his thought (*acitayitū Śātakarṇim*) caused a large army consisting of all the four divisions of Indian troops to move towards the Western quarter (*pachima-disam.....pathāpayati*), and struck terror into *Asakanagara*, or it may be, into *Asikanagara*, with the army from Kālīṅga (*Kalīṅgāgatāya senāya*).

If Mr. Jayaswal's reading *Kaṇhabermnāgatāya senāya vitūsitam Musika-nagaraṁ* be accepted as correct, we have to say either (1) that King Khāravela succeeded in striking terror into *Musika-nagara*, the *Mūsika*-capital, with the aid of the army that advanced on the banks of the *Kṛṣṇavenū* river, or (2) that he achieved this military feat with the army that advanced from the *Kṛṣṇavenū* river, the expression *Kaṇhabermnāgatāya* admitting of a twofold interpretation as suggested above. Taking the expression in the first sense, Mr. Jayaswal has sought to maintain that the presumed *Musika-nagara* was situated on the banks of the *Kaṇhabermnā* or *Kṛṣṇavenū* river.

Mr. Jayaswal's notes on the *Mūsikas* and the *Kṛṣṇavenū*, written in justification of his reading quoted above, are worth quoting in this connection. First, as to the *Mūsikas*, he has written: "They were a people of the south. The *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9. 58) mentions them in the company of the *Vanavāsīs*. Their country could not have been far removed from Kālīṅga, for the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* (circa 100 B.C.-100 A.C.) describes the *Tosalas* (the people of *Tosali*), the *Kosalas* (the people of Southern *Kosala*), and the *Mosalas* (the *Mūsikas*) as the *Kālīṅgas*, implying that they comprised the Kālīṅga empire. This is a description naturally subsequent to the time of Khāravela. A more definite reference is in the *Purāṇas* (Wilson, *Viṣṇu*, IV, p. 221) where after a kingdom of some Vindhyan countries *Strī-rājya* and *Mūsika* countries are mentioned as forming one principedom. According to the *Kāma-Sūtra* *Strī-rājya* was a Vindhyan country towards the West. The *Mūsika* country must have been between latitudes 20 and 22, between *Paithana* and *Gondwana*. As *Kosala* came

next to Orissa (North-West), the *Mūṣika-land* must have been contiguous to it on the West."¹

Secondly, as to the *Kṛṣṇavenā*, he has written : " The Purāṇas place this river near the Godāvāri and treat it as distinct from the Southern Kṛṣṇā. The Kṛṣṇa-venā is mentioned in some authorities as if it were two rivers *Kṛṣṇā* and *Vena*.² Mārkaṇḍeya derives it from the Vindhya range.³ It is evident from these details that the river is identical with the modern 'Wain River' or 'Wain-ganga' which has for its main tributary the Kanhan. The Kanhan and the Wain unite in the district of Bhandara and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardha in the district of Chanda. The capital of the *Mūṣikas*, which the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription contemplates to be on the *Kaṇhabenū*, was situated somewhere within the districts of Bhandara and Chanda in the Central Provinces." ⁴

It cannot be denied that the *Mūṣikas* were a people of the south. We are aware that the political division of *Mūṣika* " lay to the south of Kerala or Chera, the country south of Kupaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanheri in Central Travancore." ⁵ Mr. Jayaswal is the best person to say if he has not misled his readers by stating that the Mahābhārata mentions the *Mūṣikas* " in the company of the Vanavāsīs." The Mahābhārata, as will appear from the following quotation, has not only mentioned the *Mūṣikas* in the company of the Vanavāsīs, but also in that of the Drāviḍas and the Keralas or Cheras :—

Athāpare jānapadā dakṣiṇā Bhāratarsabha |

Drāviḍāḥ Keralāḥ prācyā Mūṣikā Vanavasikāḥ ||

We are ignorant of Mr. Jayaswal's authority for his identification of the *Mosalas* of the Nāṭya-Sāstra with the *Mūṣikas*. Vātsyāyana's Kāma-Sūtra, so far as we have read it, keeps us entirely in the dark about the location of *Strīrājya*. Yaśodhara in his commentary on the Kāma-Sūtra, says that the *Strīrājya* lay to the west of the country called Vajravanta,⁶

1. JBORS, 1917. Vol. III, Part IV, p. 442.

2. Vāyu-Purāṇa, LV. 103.

3. Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, LXVII. 26-27 :

Godāvārī-Bhīmarathu-Kṛṣṇavenyā-tathāparā |

Vindhyapādā-vinṣkrāntā ityētā sariduttamā

4. JBORS, 1918, Vol. IV, Part IV, pp. 374-375.

5. JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

6. Kāma-Sūtra, VI. 5.27 : " Strī-rājye Kosalāyām ca." Strī-rājya ity—Vajravanta-deśāt paścimena Strī-rājyam.

and that the Grāmanāri-viṣaya was situated adjoining and on the other side of the *Strīrājya*.¹ Hence, even if it be true that the Purāṇas mention *Strīrājya* and *Mūṣika* countries as forming one principedom, Mr. Jayaswal has yet to supply us with a definite evidence for locating *Strīrājya* as "a Vindhyan country towards the West."

It may be, as Mr. Jayaswal argues, that the *Kṛṣṇaveṇū* is the same river as the modern Wain which unites with the Kanhan, its main tributary, in Bhandara District, and that the united stream comes down to meet the Wardha in Chanda District in the Central Provinces. But is there any independent evidence, we ask, to prove that the *Mūṣika* city or country was situated on the banks of the *Kṛṣṇaveṇū*? Even assuming his reading *Kaṇhabenāgatāya* to be a correct one, can it be definitely suggested that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription contemplates *Musika-nagara*, the capital of the *Mūṣikas*, "to be on the *Kaṇhabenū*"? Can it not also be suggested that King Khāravela struck terror into *Musika-nagara* with the army that advanced from the *Kaṇhabenū*? While Mr. Jayaswal's Hāthi-Gumphā inscription contemplates the capital of the *Mūṣikas* to be on the *Kṛṣṇaveṇū*, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri finds reasons to suggest that "the *Mūṣikas* were probably settled on the banks of the river *Musi* on which Hyderabad now stands."²

We have maintained that the intended reading is not *Kaṇhabenāgatāya* but *Kalimḡāgatāya*; not *Musika-nagara* but *Asaka-nagara* or *Asika-nagara*. Had the letter been intended to read *mu*, there is no reason why the *u*-mark should appear as the lower prolongation of a straight vertical line on the right. We have offered a good explanation for the probable appearance of the *i*-mark along with *sa*, in case such a vowel-mark was not in the intention of the engraver. We also have shown how a few holes on the inscribed surface, on two sides of the letter *li*, are accountable for the production of a mirage of a letter, which Mr. Jayaswal reads *ṇha* in the estampages.

If our reading be correct, as we believe it is, a great advantage to be derived therefrom is that it does not compel us to resort to a number of assumptions without any proofs, that the *Mūṣikas* "were probably a subordinate ally of Śātakarṇi," that the capital of the *Mūṣikas* was a city on the river *Kṛṣṇaveṇū*, that *Strīrājya* and *Mūṣika* countries formed at

1. Kāma-Sūtra, VI. 6.42: "Grāmanārīviṣaye Strī-rājye ca Valhike." *Strīrājya-samīpa eva parato Grāmanārī viṣayaḥ*.

2. Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 59.

one time or another one principedom in a Vindhya region towards the West, and so on and so forth.

The foregoing discussion concerning *Arakatapura* will have no effect and the question as to the non-mention of territories of the Andhras and Cholas will remain undecided if the reading proves to be otherwise. Mr. Vats' estampage reproduced by Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS, Dec., 1927, clearly presents a word consisting of five syllables, the letter representing the second syllable appearing as *ha* and the letter representing the fifth syllable as *va*. If so, we have to read the intended word either (1) as *ahatapuva* (= *ahatapūrva*, unhurt before), or (?) as (*ā*)*hatapuva* (= *āhṛtapūrva*, acquired beforehand). Mr. Jayaswal reads *ahatapuva* interpreting it in the sense of 'unhurt before.' Such an interpretation as this is utterly inappropriate in a statement where King Khāravela is said to have governed the Vidyādhara-abode (*Vijādharaḍḍhivāsa*) in the manner of the former kings of Kālīṅga compelling all the Raṭṭhika-Bhojakas (*sava Raṭṭhika-Bhojake*) to pay due homage to him, no doubt as a test of their owing allegiance to him as they did to his predecessors. The statement, taken as a whole, indicates that the Vidyādhara-abode was an aboriginal tract of land, which was annexed to Kālīṅga previously, that is to say, by some Aira-Meghavāhana king among Khāravela's precursors. This sense can be brought out only if one agrees to read the intended word as (*ā*)*hatapuva* interpreting it in the sense of "acquired beforehand."

Having regard to the fact that the statement just referred to has been made immediately after the statement in which Khāravela is said to have struck terror into the heart of the city of *Asaka* (Aśvaka) or *Asika* (Rṣika), we may maintain that the Vidyādhara-abode was situated somewhere near Aśvaka or Rṣika on the western border of the kingdom of Kālīṅga, and that this abode formed the territories of the Raṭṭhika Bhojakas who find mention in the edicts of Aśoka (R. E. V, R. E. XIII) as semi-independent ruling races dwelling somewhere in Western India. The Raṭṭhika-Bhojakas figure in Aśoka's edicts among westerners, the peoples of Western India (*apāḥantā*, *aparāntā*). In R. E. V. the Raṭṭhikas as a ruling race are mentioned in combination with the Pettanikas (*Laṭhika-Pitenika*), while in R. E. XIII, we have the mention of the Bhojas or Bhojakas in the same combination (*Bhoja-Pitinika*). It would appear from this either (1) that the Raṭṭhikas and the Bhojakas were two confederate clans, or (2) that one and the same ruling race was known by two different names, such as Raṭṭhika and Bhojaka. That the Raṭṭhikas and the Bhojakas were two separate clans is undoubtedly because, corresponding to them, we have

the mention of the *Mahāratt̥his* and the *Mahābhōjas* in the records of the Sātavāhana kings. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has wrongly maintained *Pit̥nika* to be an adjective of *Rat̥hika* or *Bhoja* on the strength of the Pāli passage in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya (III, pp. 76, 78, 300). It is clear from the Pāli passage, as well as from Buddhaghōṣa's explanations, that *Rat̥hika* and *Pettanika* were two different or titular designations. Buddhaghōṣa, for instance, says: *Rat̥thiko' ti yo rat̥tham bhuñjati*, "the Rat̥thika is one who enjoys the income derived from *rāṣṭra* (as defined in the Artha-Śāstra, II. 6. 24)¹; *Pettaniko' ti yo pitarābhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati*, "the Pettanika is one who enjoys the hereditary rights and privileges." The term *Bhoja* or *Bhojaka* may be interpreted either in the sense of *rat̥tha-bhojaka* or *rat̥thika*, "the enjoyer of *rāṣṭra*," or in that of *gāma-gāmaṇika* or *gāma-bhojaka*, "the village headman." If Berar and Konkan were the principalities of the Rat̥thika-Bhojakas,² we can say that the Vidyādhara-abode was co-extensive with the ancient kingdom of Daṇḍaka (Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka, No. 520) bounded on the east by the kingdom of Kālīṅga, on the west by the kingdom of Avantī, on the north by the kingdom of Kāśī, and on the south by the kingdom of Aśvaka to the south of the Vindhya range. We might go further and maintain that this Vidyādhara-abode was no other than what is mentioned in the Purāṇas as Strīrāṣṭra or Strīrājya. Depending on the reading in one of the MS. of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Mr. Jayaswal says that in the Purāṇas, Strīrājya and Mūṣika country are said to have formed one principality.³ The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is not all the Purāṇas. Even all the MSS. of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa do not offer the same reading. The different MSS., as noted by Mr. Pargiter, give different readings, one giving *Mūṣiva*, one *Mūkhika*, one *Muṣita*, and one *Mṛṣika*.⁴ The Purāṇas as a whole tell altogether a different story. In them, we read that Strīrāṣṭra and Bhokṣyaka formed one principality under a king named Kanaka.⁵ Curiously enough, we have precisely Bhojaka as a variant for Bhokṣyaka, which is significant as implying that Strīrāṣṭra and Bhokṣyaka formed the principalities of the Rat̥hika-Bhojakas.

1. *Śītā bhāgo balīḥ karo vaṇik nadīpālataro nārāḥ paṭṭanam vartanī rajjūs corarājūś ca rāṣṭram*.

2. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 195-197.

3. Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 54, f.n. 25: *Strīrājya-Trailāja-Mūṣika-janapadān Kanakābhayaḥ bhokṣyanti*. Some of the MSS. omit *Trailāja*.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 54, f.n. 25.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 54; *Strīrāṣṭram Bhokṣyakāṇiś caiva bhokṣyate Kanakābhayaḥ*. For the variant *Bhojaka* see *ibid.*, p. 54, f.n. 24.

According to Khāravēla's inscription, King Śātakarṇi was the only powerful rival on the western border of his Kaliṅga kingdom whom he defied in striking terror into *Asaka-nagara* or *Asika-nagura*, the capital of *Asaka* or *Asika*. *Asaka* is just a Prakrit form of the Pāli *Assaka* and the Sanskrit *Āsvaka* or *Āsmaka*, and *Asika* is nothing but a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Ṛṣika* or *Ārṣika*¹ met with in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (IV. 2.2). It is clear from Ptolemy's Geography that the capital of Pulumāyi or Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāyi of the Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana dynasty, was Baithan, Paithan, Patiṭṭhāna or Pratisthāna, which became, according to the Prologue (Vatthugāthā) of the *Pārāyaṇavagga* in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, the southern destination of a great trade-route called *Dakkhiṇāpatha* or Southern Road.² The *Pārāyaṇa*-Prologue speaks of the hermitage of a hermit named Bāvari as a religious institution founded on the bank of the Godāvari river (Godhāvarikūle), in the dominion of *Assaka*, in close proximity to *Aḷaka* or *Muḷaka* (*Assakassa visaye Muḷakassa samāsane*). The author of the *Sutta-Nipāta*-Commentary, writing in the 5th century, A.D., says that Bāvari's hermitage was situated in a strip of territory, which stood midway between the two Andhra kingdoms of *Assaka* and *Aḷaka* or *Muḷaka*, that is to say, in that region where the Godāvari having divided itself into two streams, formed a doab, between them, and where in former times, the Hermit Śarabhaṅga and others lived.³

In referring to the hermitage of Śarabhaṅga the author of the *Sutta-Nipāta*-Commentary kept evidently in his view the legend of the *Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka* which points to a time when the high road called *Dakkhiṇāpatha* had not come into existence, when a traveller undertaking a journey from Benares to the valley of the Godāvari had to proceed by a one-foot-track, or a "road for a foot-passenger (*eka-padi-magga*) under the escort of a forester (*vanacaraka*).

This *Jātaka* legend is on a par with the *Rāmāyaṇa* account of Rāma's wanderings from Ayodhyā in the north to Pañcavaṭi on the bank of the Godāvari in the south, which too, points to a time when a traveller

1. Noticed by H. C. Raychaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd edition, p. 310, f. n. 2.

2. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, Ch. V.

3. Paramatthajotikā, Vol. II, p. 581: "Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa (Muḷakassa) samāsane' ti Assakassa ca Aḷakassa ca ti dvinnam Andhaka-rājānam samāsanna visaye, āsanne ratṭhe, dvinnam pi ratṭhānam majjhe ti adhippāyo. "Godhāvarī-kūle ti Godhāvarī-nadī-kūle, yattha Godhāvarī dvidhā vijjhitrā tiyojanappamāṇam antara-dīpaṇ akāsi sabbam karitṭhavana-saṅchannam, yattha pubbe Sarabhaṅgādāyo vasiṇsu tasmim padese.

from the north had to proceed to the south from hermitage to hermitage, following a forest track.

When exactly the high road was built and by whom we cannot say. But it is certain, as evidenced by several Pāli Dialogues, that some such high road was already in existence in the life-time of the Buddha, anyhow from Rājagaha to Kusinārā, from Kusinārā to Pāvā, from Pāvā to Kapilavatthu, from Kapilavatthu to Sāketa *viā* Setavya and Sāvattṭhi, and from Sāketa to Kosambī and further south. And yet the Prologue of the Pārāyaṇa-vagga in the Sutta-Nipāta must be considered a later addition and relegated to a post-Aśokan age for the simple reason that it did not find any place in the Culla-Niddesa which is a Pāli canonical exegesis on the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems and undoubtedly a composition of a post-Aśokan time. Even this Prologue has nothing in it to indicate that Assaka and Aḷaka or Muḷaka were two Andhra territories. It is only in the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary that we have the mention of Assaka and Muḷaka as principalities of two Andhra kings. As to who these two Andhra-kings were, this commentary does not supply us with any information whatever.

The Cullakālīṅga-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 301) presents in its quoted verses an old chronicle of a war, which ensued between the Assakas and the Kālīṅgas when King Aruṇa was the ruler among the Assakas, and ended in the victory of the former and the defeat of the latter. In explaining the historical allusions, the commentary version of the Jātaka in prose introduces certain details that are beyond the scope of the chronicle in verse.

According to the commentary version, the war alluded to in the chronicle broke out between Kālīṅga and Assaka when King Kālīṅga reigned in Dantapura, the capital of Kālīṅga, and King Assaka reigned in Potali, the capital of Assaka. It represents the then reigning king of Kālīṅga as a ruler who was equipped with a powerful army (*sampanna-bala-vāhano*) and a mighty warrior who was unrivalled in military prowess (*nāgabalo patiyodham na passati*), a description worthy of King Khāravela of Kālīṅga as he appears in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription.

These three points are clearly brought out in the commentary version of the Jātaka: (1) that the war which ensued was an aggressive war inflicted on the king of Assaka by the then reigning king of Kālīṅga who suffered from the mania for war and love of conquests over the whole of India, a spirit so much extolled in Khāravela's inscription; (2) that the battle was fought on a field between the boundaries of the two kingdoms

(*dvinnam rajjūnam antare*), it implying that the kingdom of Assaka lay contiguous to the kingdom of Kālīṅga towards the west exactly as during the reign of King Khāravela; and (3) that the king of Kālīṅga was ultimately compelled to return to his capital, acknowledging his defeat, in spite of the fact that he started with a mighty army (*mahatiyā senāya nikkhami*), a fate which is virtually the same as the final result of Khāravela's attack on the capital of Assaka, if it had been recorded in an inscription of the King of Assaka.

Whatever be the period of time to which the evidence of the commentary version of the Jātaka refers, it cannot be doubted that this evidence is in some important respects similar to that of Khāravela's inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā. If its first verse, which appears to have been a later manipulation, be left out of consideration and be linked up with the prose story, the older chronicle in verse becomes reduced to a bardic narration of a tribal feud between the Assakas and the Kālīṅgas, whereas the prose story in the Jātaka-commentary has for its theme the final result of a war, which ensued between two kings, *viz*, King Kālīṅga of Kālīṅga and King Assaka of Assaka. According to the first verse which we consider to be a later addition, Aruṇa was the family or personal name of the then reigning king of Assaka, and Nandisena was the name of his commander-in-chief feared for his valour.¹ The Jātaka as a whole keeps us in the dark as to the family or personal name of the then reigning king of Kālīṅga and the name of his commander-in-chief. It is highly improbable that any king of Kālīṅga before or after Khāravela, up till the 5th century A.D., is known to have grown so powerful and ambitious as to make bold to stir out for effecting conquests all over India. As to the relationship of Aruṇa, the then reigning king of Assaka, either with the Andhras or with the Śātakarṇi-Sātavāhanas, the Jātaka has nothing to say. But it definitely says that the king of Kālīṅga ultimately suffered a defeat and failed of his purpose in waging war upon the kingdom of Assaka, in spite of his being a mighty warrior unrivalled in military prowess and equipped with a powerful army, in spite of the fact that he marched towards Assaka with a mighty army. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, too, clearly brings out the same fact, namely, that King Khāravela of Kālīṅga could do no more than striking terror into the heart

1. *Vivaratha māsam dvāraṇi, nagaraṃ pavisaṇtu |*

Aruṇarājassa sīhena susattheṇa surakkhitaṃ

Nandisenenā ti |

of the capital of *Asaka* or *Asika* in spite of the fact that he caused a large army consisting of all the four divisions of Indian troops to move on towards the west without paying any attention to the presence of Śātakarṇi's power. It cannot be inferred from this inscription that *Asaka* or *Asika* was ever permanently annexed by Khāravela to his kingdom.

That the Śātakarṇis and other kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty exercised suzerainty over *Asaka*, *Asika* and a number of other subordinate states, which clustered round the western Godavari valley to the west and south of Kalinga, cannot at all be doubted. For we find that in the Nasik cave inscription of Queen Gautamī, dated in the 19th year of the reign of her grandson King Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī-Pulumāyi, her son King Gautamiputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi has been eulogised as the ruler of *Asika*, *Asaka* (Āsmaka on the Godāvari), *Mulaka* (the district round Paithan), *Suratha* (Kathiawar), *Kukura* (in Western or Central India, near the Pāriyātra or Western Vindhya), *Aparanta* (North Konkan), *Anupa* (the district round Māhīmatī on the Narmadā), *Vidabha* (Berar), and *Ākāra-Avati* (East and West Malwa), and no less as the lord of the *Vijha*, *Chavata*, *Pāricāta*, *Sahya*, *Kaṇhagiri*, *Maca*, *Siritana*, *Malaya*, *Mahida*, *Se'agiri* and *Cakora-parvata*, in short "of all the mountains from the Vindhya to the Travancore hills."¹

There is little doubt that in Queen Gautamī's inscription the same eulogium was meant also for her grandson King Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī-Pulumāyi. Even after King Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I of the Kṣaharāta family had wrested some five of the western territories,² after A.D. 130 and before A.D. 150, from one King Śrī-Śātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, who was perhaps King Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī-Pulumāyi himself, *Asika*, *Asaka* and the rest of the subordinate states mentioned in Gautamī's inscription remained included in the dominions of the Śātakarṇi-Śātavāhana kings up till, we venture to say, the reign of Yajña-Śrī-Śātakarṇi, the last great king of the Śātavāhana family. Even going back to earlier times, to a period of the Śātakarṇi-Śātavāhana reign before the Kṣaharāta rule in Western India and the Deccan and occupation of Mahārāṣṭra in the

1. E I, Vol. VIII, p. 60 : *Asika-Asaka-Mulaka-Suratha-Kukura-Aparanta-Anupa-Vidabha-Ākāra-Avati-rājasa Vijha-Chavata-Pāricāta-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-Maca-Siritana-Malaya-Mahida-Se'agiri-Cakora-parvata-putisa*. See, for the identification of the places, H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 310-311.

2. Namely, *Ākāra-Avanti*, *Anupa*, *Surāṣṭra*, *Kukura* and *Aparānta*. See EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 44-47.

time of Nahapāna, nay, to the reign of king Śrī-Śātakarṇi I, the son of Simuka who was the founder of the Śātavāhana branch of the Andhra family, the successor of King Kṛṣṇa who was Simuka's brother, and the husband of Queen Nayanikā, we find the same state of things. The Nānāghāt inscription of Queen Nayanikā and the Sanchi inscription of Ananda, the leading artisan of one King Śrī-Śātakarṇi bear testimony to the rise and existence of the first great Śātakarṇi-Śātavāhana empire in the western Godāvarī valley "which," as Dr. Raychaudhuri acutely puts it, "rivalled in extent and power the Śuṅga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers."¹

Thus the epigraphic records connected with the Śātakarṇi-Śātavāhana and Kṣaharāta Śaka-Kṣatrapa kings enable us to understand not only (1) why Ptolemy wrote to say that Baithan or Paithan (Patiṭṭhāna on the Godāvarī, the southern terminus of Dakkhiṇāpatha, the Southern Road) was the capital of King Pulumāyi Vāsīṣṭhiputra Śrī-Pulumāyi, and (2) why Assaka and Muḷaka or Aḷaka have been represented in the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary as two Andhra principalities in the western valley of the Godāvarī, but also (3) why the Hāthi-Gumbhā inscription records that King Khāravela of Kaliṅga defying King Śātakarṇi caused a large army consisting of all the four divisions of Indian troops to move on towards the west to strike terror into the heart of the capital of *Asaka* or *Asika*.

If it has been conclusively proved that *Asaka* or *Asika*, which was one of the subordinate states in the dominions of King Śātakarṇi, lay to the west of Khāravela's Kaliṅga, there can be no denying the fact that the Kaliṅga kingdom of Khāravela included in it the third division, Kosala or South Kosala, "which comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally even a part of Ganjam."²

Both Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Sten Konow seem to think that Kosala or South Kosala was that division of the Kaliṅga kingdom in the time of King Aśoka which comprised *anū avijitā*, the unconquered outlying tracts, referred to in two copies of Aśoka's Separate Rock Edicts. Even if it be so, we find it impossible to say that any Aira King of Utkala, associated in

1. Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 264.

2. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 337-338. See, for extension of Kosala when Hwen Tshang visited it, Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, S. N. Majumdar's edition, pp. 595, 735.

the Sanskrit verses from an old Oṛiyā Ms. with Kosala, was the then reigning monarch of Kosala.

The denotation of the term *antas* or *pratyantas* has varied with different authorities. As used in Buddhist literature, it denotes the regions that lay immediately beyond what is called Madhya-deśa, the Middle Country. As used in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, it denotes such North-Eastern frontier states as those of Samatāṭa, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Karttṛpura and the rest. And as used in Aśoka's inscriptions, it denotes the unconquered territories or tracts that lay beyond his dominions, whether in the north-west, or in the south, or in the east. In his Rock Edict XIII, King Aśoka has expressly mentioned the five Greco-Bactrian principalities as typical examples of *antas* in the north-west, and Chola, the land of the Cholas, and Pāṇḍya, the land of the Pāṇḍyas, as typical examples of *antas* in the south. In speaking of the independent dwellers of the *antas* with whom his Viceroy and High Functionaries at Tosali and Samāpā were to deal, King Aśoka has not cared to name any ruling chiefs, peoples or powers as worthy of mention. If by *antas* in connection with his Kalinga Province he really meant Kośala or South Kośala, it must have then comprised the feudal states of a number of tribal chiefs, instead of being one kingdom under the rule of King Khāravela.

It is recorded in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription that King Khāravela, in the eleventh year of his reign, caused the grassy jungle of Pṛthudaka to be driven out into the Lāṅgala river and caused the watery jungle of grass to be destroyed, the watery jungle which was allowed to grow up in one hundred and thirteen years. The statement is important as giving us some glimpses into the physical features of Kalinga, of which we are offered the following interesting description in Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 6-7:—

“It was always a *terra incognita*, by reason of its geographical position and local circumstances. The whole country was a swamp intersected by a network of rivers with their feeders and tributaries carrying silt to the Bay of Bengal; impassable hilly jungles fringed its borders. The country was in a process of geological formation; there was a perpetual struggle between the different rivers and the sea, for the formation of the deltaic regions.”

In the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's twelfth regnal year, we read (1) that His Majesty was able to strike terror into the heart of the kings of Uttarāpatha, (2) that in generating a great fear for the

people of Aṅga and Magadha he caused the elephants and horses to drink at the Ganges, (3) that he compelled King Bahasatimita of Magadha to bow down at his feet, (4) that he triumphantly brought back to Kaliṅga from Aṅga-Magadha the Throne of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga which was carried away by King Nanda, (5) that he compelled the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha to bow down at his feet, (6) that a hundred Vāsukis sent him jewels, procured for him the elephants, horses and other animals capable of exciting curiosity, and made presents of deer, horses and elephants, (7) that the king of Pāṇḍya supplied him with many valuable presents of apparels, pearls, gems, and jewels, and (8) that he subdued the inhabitants of some other place.

The significance of the geographical designation Uttarāpatha is to be understood in contrast to that of Dakṣiṇāpatha. As we noticed, the Prologue of Book V of the Sutta-Nipāta represents Dakṣiṇāpatha as a great trade-route, the Southern High Road, which starting from Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha (*Magadha-pura*), passed through Nālandā and Pāṭaligāma (where the city of Pāṭaliputta was afterwards built), to extend northward to Vesālī across the Ganges and *via* Koṭigāma, and extending as far as Kapilavatthu *via* Kusinārā and Pāvā, turned southward to reach Sāvatti *via* Setavya, and proceeding southward passed through Sāketa to extend to Kosambi across the Yamunā, and proceeding further south, reached Vana or Vana-Sāvatti, at which point it turned towards the west to pass through Ujjeni and Māhissati, and extended as far south as Patitthāna or Paitthan across the Vindhya range. This Southern High Road lent its name to the region through which it passed, the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of the Godāvarī being known, according to Buddhaghosa, as Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Deccan proper.¹ That this region was known up to a late period as Dakṣiṇāpatha is evident from these two literary references: (1) *Dākṣiṇātye janapade Pāṭaliputraṃ nāma nagaraṃ*, "Pāṭaliputra a city on the south bank of the Ganges in a Deccan district," occurring in one of the stories of the Pañcatantra,² and (2) *Avantī Dakkhināpathe*, "Avanti in Dakṣiṇāpatha," occurring in one of the passages of the Vinaya-Piṭaka.³ This original significance of

1. Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Part I, p. 256.

2. Pañcatantra, Śreṣṭhi-Kṣapaṇaka-Nāpita-Kathā.

3. Vinaya-Mahāvagga, V, 13, C. Vinaya-Cullavagga, XI, 1.

the name Dakṣiṇāpatha was gradually lost sight of with the result that in later times the location of Dakṣiṇāpatha came to be shifted to the south of the Vindhya range,¹ to finally cover the whole of the modern South India lying between the Vindhya range and the Cape Comorin, the Deccan proper still being the region between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. It may be easily inferred from the Nasik cave inscription of Queen Gautamī, from the list of countries included in the dominions of Gautamīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi, that, as late as the first two centuries of the Christian era, the kingdom of Avantī was located in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

A similar historical process can be conceived with reference to *Utarāpadha* or *Uttarāpatha*. For *Uttarāpatha*, too, may be supposed to have been originally a great trade-route, the Northern High Road, which extended from Sāvatti to Takkaṣilā in Gandhāra, and have lent, precisely like the Southern High Road, its name to the region through which it passed, the region, broadly speaking, covering the north-western part of the United Provinces, the whole of the Punjab Province and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. That this region was known up to a late period as *Uttarāpatha* is evident from these three literary references : (1) *Uttara-Madhura-Uttarāpathe*, "the Northern Mathurā, the Mathurā proper on the Yamunā, in *Uttarāpatha*," occurring in Dharmapāla's *Paṇḍita-Dīpanī*, a commentary on the *Petavatthu* ; (2) *Prthudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ*, "*Uttarāpatha* lies (towards the west) beyond *Prthudaka* (near Thaneswar)," occurring in the *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* ;² and (3) the following verse occurring in the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 207, 43 :—

Uttarāpatha-jaṇmanah kīrtayisyāmi tān api |

*Yauna-Kamboja-Gandhārah Kirātu Barbaraiḥ saha ||*³

Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, attributes certain views in the *Kathāvatthu* to two Buddhist schools called *Hemavatika* and *Uttarāpathaka*. *Hemavatika* and *Uttarāpathaka* were the local or

1. *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā*, p. 93. *Māhiṣmatyaḥ parataḥ Dakṣiṇāpathaḥ*, "Dakṣiṇāpatha is the tract of land which lay beyond *Māhiṣmatī* in the south." Cf. *Bhāratīya Nāṭya-Śāstra*, XIV, 39-41.

2. *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā*, p. 93, quoted in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (S. N. Majumdar's edition), p. 965.

3. Quoted in H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd edition, p. 83.

territorial names of two post-Aśokan Buddhist schools, the former being derived from Himavanta, and the latter from Uttarāpatha. We have reasons to say that the Himavanta region consisted of a number of Himalayan states to the north of the Southern High Road in its extension from Vesāli to Sāvātthi and beyond the northern boundary of the Middle Country as defined in Buddhist literature. Thus Uttarāpatha may be accurately defined as a tract of land, which lay to the west of the Himavanta region, extending westward from Thaneswar, and which lay to the north-west of the Buddhist Middle Country and to the north of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, extending north-west from Mathurā, the capital of Śūrasena. Whatever be its later territorial extension, it is certain that Khāravela's Uttarāpatha signified nothing but the region specified above, the region including Mathurā in its south-eastern extension. Anyhow, from the record of Khāravela's twelfth regnal year, it is clear that Uttarāpatha lay towards the west or north-west beyond Aṅga and Magadha. And should our reading be correct, from the use of the plural expression *Uttarāpadha-rājāno*, "the rulers of Uttarāpatha," it may be inferred that when King Khāravela carried his campaign into Uttarāpatha, it was parcelled, precisely as it was when Alexander invaded the plains of India, into a number of small independent principalities, although the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription does not mention the names of their rulers.

According to the Mahābhārata account of the journey of the Pāṇḍavas from Hastināpura to Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga proper could be reached by the travellers journeying along the sea-coast from the mouth of the Ganges, and it was the country through which the river Vaitaraṇī flowed.¹ On the strength of this Epic description, Mr. Mono Mohan Ganguly assigns the following boundaries to Kaliṅga proper: "On the North, the Vaitaraṇī; on the South, the Godāvarī; on the East, the Bay of Bengal; on the West, the Tributary States of Orissa."² The reader can judge for himself whether and how far the geographical extension of Kaliṅga proper,

1. Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Canto I :

Tataḥ samudra-tīreṇa jagāma rasudhādhipaḥ |

Bhrātṛbhiḥ sahito vīraḥ Kaliṅgān prati Bhārata ||

Lomaśa uvāca :

Ete Kaliṅgāḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī |

Yatrayajata dharmopi devaccharaṇametya vai ||

2. Orissa and Her Remains, p. 9.

as may be inferred from the Mahābhārata account, coincided with that of the Kālīṅga kingdom of Khāravela. Apparently, as we have sought to show, Khāravela's Kālīṅga kingdom with its three divisions comprised the Epic Kālīṅga as well as the modern Orissa with its Tributary States.

The countries of Aṅga and Magadha are too well-known to need any elaborate comments. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription clearly indicates that both Aṅga and Magadha were situated side by side with each other on the south bank of the Ganges, which is to say, that the Ganges formed the natural northern boundary of both the countries. Aṅga lost her independence and became a dependency of the kingdom of Magadha as early as the reign of King Bimbisāra, who is said to have been one of the elder contemporaries of the Buddha. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription indicates that Aṅga continued to be the same old dependency of the kingdom of Magadha as during the reign of King Bahasatimita as during that of King Nanda.

The Vāsukis referred to were not fabulous beings. There would be no reason for mentioning them in a serious document if they were fabulous. The Vāsukis were the Nāga kings who had established principalities in all parts of India. "The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of Northern and Central India in the third and fourth centuries A. D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence." ¹ The name of the Chota-Nagpur District situated between Bihar in the north and Orissa in the south may be taken as a reminiscence of the Nāga principalities that existed at one time between Aṅga-Magadha, on one side, and Khāravela's Kālīṅga kingdom, on the other. There are inscriptional records to show that Mathurā and the countries around it were occupied in *circa* 300 A. D. by the Nāgas. The statement that the Vāsukis sent precious jewels to King Khāravela, procured for him the elephants, horses and other animals capable of exciting curiosity, clearly indicates that their principalities comprised those jungle tracts which abounded in the wealth of precious stones, and wild elephants, horses and other animals.

The statement that the king of Pāṇḍya supplied King Khāravela with many valuable presents of pearls, gems and jewels and various kinds of apparels, requires a word of explanation. One might say this could be explained without having to assume that the kingdom of Pāṇḍya was at any time invaded by King Khāravela; the statement might be justified

1. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 303-304.

either (1) on the ground that the kings of Pāṇḍya were the less powerful allies of the Aira-Meghavāhana kings of Kālīṅga from earlier times, or (2) on the ground that alarming reports of the irresistible force of Khāravela's victorious arms compelled the then reigning king of Pāṇḍya to make an alliance, acknowledging the supremacy of King Mahāvijaya Siri-Khāravela of Kālīṅga.

As to whether Khāravela had at any time invaded Pāṇḍya, we should bear in mind that the fact of sending presents by the king of Pāṇḍya to King Khāravela is stated in the record of Khāravela's twelfth regnal year. Whether or no, the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription bears testimony to the invasion of Pāṇḍya by King Khāravela depends, to a large extent, upon the nature of the reading and rendering of the record of Khāravela's eighth regnal year. The following are the three successive readings and renderings of this record that have been offered by Mr. Jayaswal :—

I (a)—First Reading: *Aṭhame ca vase (manatino?) (dha ma ni??) Goradhagiri ghātāpayitā Rājagṛha-napaṃ pīḍāpayati etinaṃ ca kamu-padāna-panādena sabata sena-vāhane vipamuṃcitam Madhuram apayāto [.]*

(b) First Rendering: “*In the eighth year, the ministers (?)...at Goradhagiri...having got killed, (he) causes oppression to the King of Rājagṛha who by the report of (Khāravela's) offer of marching forward, was made to retire to Mathurā, leaving behind everywhere his troops and vehicles.*”

II (a)—Second Reading: *Aṭhame ca vase mahati-senāya mahata-(bhittim) Goradhagiriṃ ghātāpayitā Rājagṛham upapīḍāpayati [;] etinā ca kamma' padāna-panādena sambhita-sena-vāhinim vipamuṃcitam Madhuram apayāto yeva narid(o) (nāma).....(mo?) (yocati) vicha—palava-bhar(e)....[.]*

(b)—Second Rendering: “*In the eighth year, he (Khāravela) having got stormed the Goradhagiri (fortress) of great enclosure by a great army, causes pressure around Rājagṛha (lays siege to Rājagṛha). On account of this report of the acts of valour, (i. e., the capture of Goradhagiri, etc.), the king (so-called) to forsake the invested division of his army, went away to Mathurā indeed,..*”

III (a)—Third Reading: *... etian(aṃ or ā) ca kammapadāna-saṃnādena samb(i)ta-sena-vāhano vipamuṃcitam Madhuram apayāto Yavana-rāj(a)-Dini(ṭa or ṭi) yachati...vi-palava.....[.]*

(b)—Third Rendering: *..... “on account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i.e., the capture of the Goradhagiri*

fortress and the siege of Rājagṛha, etc.) the Greek king Demetrius drawing in his army and transport, retreated to abandon Mathurā."

✓ It will be seen that all the three renderings offered by Mr. Jayaswal show an agreement in representing *Goradhagiri* not as a personal name but as the name of a hill-fortress at Gorathagiri, the modern Barābar range of hills in the District of Gayā. These also show an agreement in representing *Rājagaha* as the earlier capital of Magadha, and *Madhurā* as a city on the Yamunā in Northern India. The difference between his first and second renderings is that whereas in the former, accepting the reading *Rājagaha-napaṃ pīḍāpayati.....*, the king of Rājagṛha is represented as the timid warrior who retired to Mathurā, in the latter, accepting the reading *Rājagahaṃ upaḍāpayati.....yeva narido*, indefinitely the king so-called is represented as the warrior who went away to Mathurā. And the difference between his third and earlier two renderings is that while in the latter either definitely the king of Rājagṛha or indefinitely and sarcastically the king so-called is represented as the warrior who went away to Mathurā, in the former *Dimita-Demetrius* is represented as the Greek king (*Yavana-rājā*) who, drawing in his army and transport, instead of advancing towards Rājagṛha, retreated to abandon Mathurā.

Before we decide one way or the other, we ought to thresh out the matter carefully. We have nothing to say against Mr. Jayaswal's reading and rendering of the opening words of the eighth year's record up to *senāya*. These, taken by themselves, clearly indicate that King Khāravela started on a campaign with a mighty army in the eighth year of his reign. His reading *Goradhagiriṃ ghātāpayitū* cannot be challenged. This expression may be rendered either as (1) "having caused Gorathagiri to be killed," or as (2) "having caused Gorathagiri to be stormed," according as we take *Goradhagiri* to be a personal name or the name of a hill-fortress or mountain-fastness.

Whether *Goradhagiri* is a personal name or the name of a hill-fortress might have been decided at once if the words preceding it could be accurately read. From the faint traces of the letters, Mr. Jayaswal made out *mahata-bhitti*, "of great enclosure," as an adjunct of *Goradhagiri*, keeping in his view Mr. V. H. Jackson's identification of *Goradhagiri* or *Gorathagiri* with the modern Barābar hills. But he has given up at last this reading, declaring it to be uncertain. Mr. Banerji's estampage published in JBORS, 1917, enables us to make out *Madhuraṃ a[nupa]to*, "as he reached Mathurā."

We say that the use of *Goradhagiri* as a personal name in Khāravēla's inscription is not impossible. For in the Mahāvamsa, *Giri* occurs as the name of a Nigamṭha or Jain contemporary of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon. In one of the ancient Brāhmī inscriptions, *Yasogiri* occurs as the name of a Buddhist monk.¹ In Jain literature, *Muhāgiri* and *Siṃhagiri* occur as the names of two Jain apostles.² And none need be surprised if *Mahendragiri* occurs as the name of the king of Piṣṭhapura in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.³

The use of the verbal expression *ghātāpayitā* in the sense of "having caused to be killed" is appropriate, if *Goradhagiri* is a personal name. It may be argued that the use of the same verbal expression in the sense of "having caused to be stormed" is equally appropriate, if *Goradhagiri* is the name of a hill-fortress or mountain-fastness. We cannot but agree with Mr. Jayaswal when he maintains that the use of the expression *Goradhagirim ghātāpayitā*, even where *Goradhagiri* is the name of a hill-fortress, is sanctioned by literary usage, and calls our attention to the Pāli expression *Dīpaghātakā Ḍamilā*, "the Tamil devastators of the Island of Laṅkā."⁴

The Mahābhārata is the only Indian work where we have the mention of Gorathagiri as a hill or mountain from which one might have a view of Girivraja or Old Rājagṛha, the first or most ancient known capital of Magadha.⁵ Mr. Jackson is inclined to think⁶ that this Gorathagiri is no other than the mountain which Hwen Thsang saw between Pāṭaliputra and

1. Lüders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, No. 601.

2. P. C. Bagchi "On the Pūrvas", Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 5.

3. It is only by *suggestio falsi* that Fleet represents *Mahendragiri* of Samudragupta's inscription as the name of a hill or mountain. From the system of using the patronymic of a place-name as an adjunct of a personal name which has been consistently maintained in the whole list of the kings subdued by the Indian Napoleon, it is easy to understand, as D. R. Bhandarkar points out, that *Mahendragiri* is a personal name, nothing but a personal name. *Kausālaka-Mahendra-Māhākāntāraka-Vyaghrarāja-Kaurālaka-Maṇṭarāja-Paiṣṭhapuraka—Mahendragiri—Kauṭṭuraka-Svāmidatta*, etc.

4. Attention might be drawn to a better instance in the Dāthāvamsa, III. 16 (JPTS, 1884, p. 126): *Kūṭena ghātāpayi dantaḍhātum*, "he caused the tooth-relic to be smashed with a hammer."

5. Mahābhārata, II. 19-30.

Goratham girim āsādyā dadṛśur Māgadham puram.

6. JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, p. 162.

Gayā, and on the eastern summit of which the "Tathāgata formerly stood for a time beholding the country of Magadha."¹

Seeing that the names Goratha and Baithan are both connected with cattle and having regard to the fact that there is no hill near enough to Rajgir besides the Baithan hill, Mr. J. D. Beglar found reasons to think that the hill named Goratha in the Mahābhārata could not but be the same as the present Baithan hill.² And with reference to Isigili or Ṛṣigiri, Buddhaghosa says that the Blessed One was once upon a time seated in that place sitting where he could behold all the five hills (that stood close to one another surrounding Rājagaha).³ The Isigili-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya records the names of these five hills as the Vebhāra, the Paṇḍava, the Vepulla, the Gijjhakūṭa and the Isigili. In the opinion of Mr. Oldham, Māgadhapura referred to in the Mahābhārata as the capital of Magadha which could be seen from the summit of the Gorathagiri hill might have been "a town close to the east of the Barābar hills, on the site of what is now known as Ibrahimpur." But the description in the Mahābhārata leaves no room for doubt that this Māgadhapura was no other than Girivraja, which precisely like Rājagaha of the Isigili-Sutta, was guarded by the five lofty-peaked and cool-planted hills, the *vipula*-Vaihāra, the Varāha, the Vṛṣabha, the Ṛṣigiri and the *śubha*-Caityaka.⁴ Further, the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary takes Māgadhapura to mean Rājagaha.⁵

We must carefully note that Gorathagiri, according to the Mahābhārata, was the hill which stood at some distance from Girivraja or Old Rājagṛha and could be reached by the travellers journeying from the land of the Kurus through the Kuru-jungle, proceeding to the beautiful lotus-lake and getting beyond the Kālakūṭa mountain, and likewise going by degrees across the Gaṇḍaki, the great Sone and the Sadānīrā, the rivers taking their rise from one and the same mountain, crossing the charming

1. Beal's Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 104.

2. Arch. Sur. Reports, 1872-73, Vol. VIII, pp. 46-47.

3. Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese edition, Part III, p. 536: *yaśmiṃ thāne nisinnānaṃ pañca pabhatā paññāyanti tattha.*

4. Mahābhārata, II, 21-23:

Vaihāro vipulaḥ śailo Vārāho Vṛṣabhas tathā |
Tathā Ṛṣigiris tābha śubhāś Caityaka-pañcamāḥ |
Ete pañca mahāśrīṅgāḥ parvatāḥ śītala-drumāḥ |
Rakṣantivābhisamhatyasamhatāṅgā Girivrajaṃ ||

5. Paramattha-Jotikā, II, p. 584; *Māyudhaṃ puranti Magadhapuraṃ Rājagahanti adhippāyo.*

Sarayū and beholding the Eastern Kośala, going beyond Mithilā, crossing the rivers Mālā and Carmanvatī, crossing the Ganges and the Sone, and proceeding further eastward to get from Kuśācīracchada to what was called Māgadha-kṣetra, the Magadha-territory (literally, "the Magadha-field").¹

There can be little doubt, as Mr. Jackson has sought to prove on the strength of two short Brāhmī inscriptions, that Gorathagiri was but one of the two ancient names of the Barābar hills, the other being *Khalatika-pavata*, which latter is met with in two of the Barābar Hill-Cave inscriptions of Aśoka and in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (I. 2. 2). As the ancient capital of Magadha was known at the same time by two names, *Girivraja* and *Rājagṛha*, so, Mr. Jackson thinks, the Barābar hills were known at one time by two names, *Gorathagiri* and *Khalatika-pavata*,² while, later on, they came to be known by the name of Pravaragiri,³ *Pravara* wherefrom the modern name Barābar was apparently derived.

The two Brāhmī inscriptions, relied upon by Mr. Jackson in proposing his identification, are engraved on rocks in two different places, both of which are not far from the well-known caves dedicated by Aśoka to the Ājīvikas,"⁴ and consist each of five syllabic letters, one of them recording the name of the hill as *Gorathagiri* and the other as *Goradhagiri*, the letter-forms of the former bearing a close resemblance to those of the dedicatory inscriptions of Aśoka, and the letter-forms and spelling of the latter to those of the Hāthi-Gumptā inscription of Khāravela. On palæographic grounds, Mr. R. D. Banerji assigns the former to the Aśokan age and places the latter a century later, going so far as to believe that the latter was actually engraved by one of the men who accompanied King Khāravela and took part in His Majesty's first invasion of Magadha.⁵ If it be as Mr. Jackson presumes, that the earlier inscription recording the name of the hill on which it was engraved as *Gorathagiri* was of the same age as two of the dedicatory inscriptions of Aśoka recording the name of the hill on which they were engraved as *Khalatika-pavata*, we do not see any necessity for

1. Mahābhārata, II, 20, 26-29, quoted with Rāmāvatār Sarmā's translation in JBORS; Vol. I, Part II, p. 161.

2. JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, p. 169.

3. The Lomasa Rishi cave is called *Pravaragiriguhā* in an undated Sanskrit inscription belonging probably to the 7th century A. D.. JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, p. 169.

4. JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, p. 162.

5. JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 500. See Plates in JBORS, Vol. I, Part II, published by Jackson.

speculating if *Khalatika* was a phonetic transformation of *Goratha*, or *Goratha* that of *Khalatika*. In such a case as this, one is compelled to think that neither *Khalatika-parata* nor *Gorathagiri* was intended by Aśoka to serve as a name for the whole of the present Barābar range but as names for two separate hills of this range.

The close likeness between the Brāhmī letter-forms and the spelling *Goradhagiri* as found in the second inscription and as found in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is, beyond a doubt, a strong point in the argument pressed by Messrs. Bauerji and Jayaswal for taking *Goradhagiri* of Khāravela's inscription to denote the Barābar hills. And yet in justifying the use of the verbal expression *ghātāpayitū* in the sense of "having stormed," one has to prove that *Gorathagiri* or *Goradhagiri* was at all, at any time, a hill-fortress. It is certain that "the Mahābhārata which mentions the Gorathagiri in connexion with the earlier period of Rājagṛha, does not refer to any fortifications there." "Inside the Barābar enclosure stone foundations of buildings can be seen in various places, notably upon and to the east of the artificially raised area at the foot of the Siddheswar-nath hill due north of the caves, and in the jungle towards the south-western end of the valley. The whole enclosure is too small to have been the site of any large town, but the natural strength of the position and the fact that the defences are strengthened at all vulnerable places by stone walls render it reasonable to suppose that it formed a refuge used in times of danger by the people who ordinarily lived in the plains and valleys outside." These reflections and the fact that the local tradition speaks of the hills as those which in ancient days formed a stronghold or fortress enable Mr. Jackson to opine "that as Pāṭaliputra was open to an attack from the south, the Gorathagiri which lay on the way to the capital was made a fortified position," and that "it must have been treated as the first line of defence on the southern side of Pāṭaliputra."¹

We need not attach to the local tradition quoted by Mr. Jackson any more importance than what we should attach to his inference from a study of the ancient remains. The question still is whether the stone-enclosure and other remains are the relics of a rocky stronghold or hill-fortress or those of a rocky shrine, *stūpa* or temple. Evidently, the Barābar hills were a sanctified rather than a fortified position. For it is here that King Aśoka dedicated certain caves for the residence of the Ājīvikas. It is again here that Hwen Thsang saw a Buddhist *stūpa* on the eastern summit of the

1. Quoted by Jayaswal in JBORS, 1917, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 469, 472.

mountain where the Tathāgata formerly stood beholding the country of Magadha. The Chinese pilgrim's mountain with the *stūpa* on its summit is connected with "the country of Magadha." The Mahābhārata connects Gorathagiri with Māgadha-kṣetra or Magadha-territory. And we find that the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary locates Pāsāṇaka-cetiya, the site of the rocky shrine, in Magadha-khetta (*Magadha-khetta Pāsāṇaka-cetiyaṃ*),¹ and says that in spite of the fact that it became, during the dispensation of the Blessed One, a Buddhist retreat, the spot where there was formerly a shrine of Deva-worship continued to be designated by its ancient name as Pāsāṇaka-cetiya or Pāsāṇa-caitya.² The identification thus sought to be established between Gorathagiri and Pāsāṇa-caitya may receive its confirmation also from the fact that just as in the Mahābhārata, Gorathagiri has been mentioned as the mountain standing on which the travellers coming from the Kuru-country to Mithilā and finally getting into the Magadha-territory by a southward journey through Kuśāstracchada, could have a view of Girivraja or Old Rājagṛha, so in the Sutta-Nipāta and its commentary, Pāsāṇa-caitya has found mention as a Buddhist retreat, which could be reached from Rājagaha by the travellers starting from Kapilavatthu along the great high road, reaching Pāṭaliputta from Vesālī by a southward journey and proceeding further southward, along the same high road, *via* Nālandā. Thus it may be shown that all the available evidences conspire only to prove the contrary of Mr. Jackson's inference that Gorathagiri was a rocky stronghold or hill-fortress. If Gorathagiri was a hill noted for its rocky shrine, *stūpa* or Deva-temple, it is difficult to justify the use of the verbal expression *ghātāpayitū* in the sense of "having stormed" Why should Khāravela storm Gorathagiri if it was not used as a fortress or stronghold of the Magadhan army?

Strangely enough, the Hāthi-Gumpā expression following *Goradhagiriṃ ghātāpayitū* is one involving a reference to Rājagaha. These are the three possible readings of this expression : (1) *Rājagaha-napaṃ piḍāpayati*, "caused the king of Rājagaha to be harassed ;" (2) *Rājagahamupapiḍāpayati*, "caused pressure around Rājagaha ;" or (3) *Rājagahānaṃ papīḍāpayati*, "caused a heavy pressure to be brought to bear upon the people of Rājagaha." The first reading does not suit the context in view of the

1. Paramattha-Jotikā, Vol. II, p. 583.

2. Paramattha-Jotikā, Vol. II, p. 584 : *Pāsāṇakam cetiyan ti mahato pāsāṇassa upari pubbe devātthānaṃ ahosi, uppanne pana Bhagavati vihāro jāto so ten'eva purima-vorhāena Pāsāṇakam cetiyan ti vuccati.*

fact that in the twelfth year's record, the king of Magadha is alluded to as "the king of Magadha" (*Māgadha-rājā*), and not as "the king of Rājagaha," and no less for the reason that Rājagaha ceased long ago to be the capital of Magadha. The second reading, too, cannot justify the use of *etinaṃ*, a pronominal expression with a genitive plural case-ending, immediately after *upapīḍāpayati*. The third reading alone fulfils all the requirements. There were at least two Rājagahas or Rājagrhas in India, one which was the earlier capital of Magadha and the other which was the capital of the Kekayas "located in the Rāmāyaṇa on the other side of the Vipāsā (Beas) and stretching up to Gāndhāra."¹ The latter Rājagrha also bore a second name, Girivraja. By the people of Rājagrha we may understand as well the Māgadhas as the Kekayas. And there were Kekayas in the north-west, in Uttarāpatha, as well as in the south, in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The Kekayas of Uttarāpatha "were settled in the Pañjāb." It is evident from the Rāmāyaṇa that their territory "lay beyond the Vipāsā (Beas) and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Viśaya."² And it may be surmised from a number of inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayyapeta Stūpa in the Krishnā District and belonging, according to some of the archaeologists, to so early a date as the second century A.D., that the Kekayas of Dakṣiṇāpatha who were matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus of South India were "probably a ruling family of ancient Mysore."³

These are then the three possible interpretations of the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's eighth regnal year: (1) That His Majesty having stormed Gorathagiri, a stronghold of the Magadhan army in the Barābar hills, caused a heavy pressure to be brought to bear upon the citizens of Rājagaha, the earlier capital of Magadha; (2) that His Majesty having caused Gorathagiri, the king or general of Mathurā in Uttarāpatha, brought a heavy pressure upon the Kekayas whose capital was Rājagrha beyond the Beas; or (3) that His Majesty having caused Gorathagiri, the king or general of Mathurā, the capital of Pāṇḍya in Dakṣiṇāpatha, brought a heavy pressure upon the Kekayas who founded a territory in Ancient Mysore.

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India edited by S. N. Majumdar, Notes.

2. Rāmāyaṇa, II. 68 19-22; VII. 113, 114. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 36.

3. Dubreuil's Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 88, 101; Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, p. 315, fn. 1.

Each of these interpretations has its strong and weak points. The strong points of the first interpretation are obvious: (1) the contiguity of the kingdom of Magadha to that of Kalinga; (2) the discovery of two Brāhmī inscriptions as old as the Barābar Hill Cave inscriptions of Aśoka and the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela enabling us to identify Gorathagiri with the Pravaragiri or Barābar hills; (3) the exploration of the lingering remains of an ancient enclosure; (4) the local tradition asserting that there was a fortress or stronghold in the Barābar hills; and (5) the Mahābhārata describing the Gorathagiri of Māgadhakṣetra as the hill or mountain from which one could have a view of Girivraja or Old Rājagṛha, the earlier capital of Magadha. Its weak points are: (1) the Mahābhārata describing Gorathagiri simply as a hill or mountain, and not as a stronghold or fortress; (2) the stone-enclosure and other supposed remains of an ancient fortress being explained also as vestiges of an ancient shrine, temple or *stūpa*; (3) it being inexplicable why, if Pāṭaliputra were at that time the capital of Magadha and Gorathagiri had served as its first line of defence on the south, Khāravela had directed his attacks towards Rājagṛha, unless it be presumed that the capital had to be removed from Pāṭaliputra to Rājagṛha in fear of an attack from the north as formerly done during the reign of King Muṇḍa or that the army of Magadha having been gradually driven southward, was finally concentrated in Rājagṛha.

The strong point of the second interpretation is that it enables us to understand how Khāravela could venture to carry his expeditions into the very heart of Uttarāpatha after having made himself the master of Mathurā even before he planned his attacks on Aṅga and Magadha. The weak point of it is that there is no other authority but the Rāmayaṇa to establish that there was a Rājagṛha in the Uttarāpatha as distinguished from Rājagṛha, the earlier capital of Magadha.

The strong point of the third interpretation is that it enables us to understand how the king of Pāṇḍya was compelled to send valuable presents to Khāravela, which is to say, to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Kalinga. Its weak point is that there is yet no evidence to prove the identity of the Kekayas with the Rājagahikas. Another point in its favour is that if it could be established, we might have clearly seen that Khāravela turned his attention to Northern India only after he had subdued the powers in the Deccan.

But weighing the matter carefully, we feel that the balance of probability lies, after all, with the first interpretation, and, to some extent, with the second interpretation. And it follows from either of these two interpretations

that Khāravēla had to effect a timely retreat to Mathurā to relieve his army terrified by the alarming reports of counter-attacks from the inhabitants of Rājagaha, while his twelfth year's record goes to show that he made a second attempt, which proved entirely successful.

12. KHĀRAVELA'S PERSONAL HISTORY

Many interesting facts concerning the personal history of Khāravēla can be gleaned from the old Brāhmī inscriptions, particularly his own inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā, so much so that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription itself may be judged as a Khāravēla-Carita, "The Life of Khāravēla," in Indian epigraphy, and no less as an Aśokāvadāna, "The Edifying Legend of Aśoka," in Jain records. The text of the Hāthi-Gumphā may be judged also as a kind of *mahāvīra-carita*, "the annal of a great hero," taking Khāravēla to be the great warrior hero. There can be little doubt that the composer of the Hāthi-Gumphā text has sought all along to extol Khāravēla as a mighty earthly hero who was destined to conquer, to rule, to protect and to please. Anyhow, no other inference can be drawn from the honorific epithets adorning the name of His Graceful Majesty Khāravēla.

In the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (I. 1), Khāravēla is described as *pasatha-subha-lakhaṇa*, "one who bore the noble and auspicious bodily marks," and as *caturamta-rakhaṇa-guṇa-upeta*, "one who was endowed with the qualities of a ruler capable of protecting the whole of this earth extending as far as the four seas." A less likely alternative of the reading of the second epithet may be *caturamta-luṭhana-guṇa-upeta*, "one who was endowed with the qualities of a warrior capable of undertaking expeditions over the whole of this earth bounded by the four seas." The expression *caturantā*¹ was the current old Indian idiom to denote indefinitely the whole extension of the earth conceived as an island in the seas or oceans.

Corresponding to *caturamta-rakhaṇa-guṇa-upeta* or *caturamta-luṭhana-guṇa-upeta*, we have the familiar Pāli expression *cāturanta-vijitāvijaṇapadathāvāriyappatta*, "the ruler of the whole earth bounded by the four seas, the upholder of the realm by the right of conquest and the

1. Here *caturantā* is the same expression as *caturantā mahī* (Artha-Śāstra, III. 2.50), and *āsamudra-kṣiti*.

consolidator of his hold on his territories," which is an oft-recurring epithet of a king overlord (*rājā cakkavattī*). Buddhaghosa explains *cāturanṭa* as meaning "the lord of the earth bordering on the four seas and comprising the four island-like continents."¹ He explains *viññātī* as meaning "one who has quelled the rebellious agitations within, overpowered the inimical rebels without and conquered all other kings."² And lastly, he explains *janapadathāvariyaṇṇapatta* as meaning "one who has established so sure and permanent a hold on his territories that no one is able to move it an inch, or having retained a permanent hold on his territories, remains engaged in his duties unworried, unshaken and unmoved."³

That *pasathasubha-lakṣaṇa* and the other epithet are meant in the Hāthi-Gumphā text to represent Khāravela as a king overlord is beyond dispute. For in the inscription of his chief queen (No. II), Khāravela is freely represented as *Kalīṅga-cakavattī*, "the King Overlord of Kalīṅga." But this is not enough to bring out the real significance of the two epithets. As used in the first paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text, the epithets signify what the expert astrologers, palmists and diviners (*lakṣaṇa-paṭiggāhaka*, *nakkhatta-pāṭhaka*), after reading the bodily marks and making a thorough study of the birth-star and other factors and signs connected with the birth and person of the child-prince Khāravela, declared him to be in future.⁴

Let us now see how Khāravela is represented in the Hāthi-Gumphā text and, to some extent, in some of the remaining old Brāhmī inscriptions to have fulfilled other conditions of a person destined to become a king overlord, the conditions specified in such ancient texts as the Pāli Cakkavatti-Sihanāda-Sutta in the Dīgha-Nikāya, and Rājavagga in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, and the Lalita-Vistara (Ch. VIII).

1. Papanca-Sūdanī, Siamese edition, Part III. Brahmīyusutta-vaṇṇanā; "*cāturanṭā issaroti cāturanṭo, catusamuddantāya catubbidhadīpa-bhūsaṭṭāya ca paṭhavīyā issaroti attho*."

2. Ibid: "*Ajjhattaṃ kopādi paccatthike bahiddhā ca sabbarājāno vijitṭi viññātī*."

3. Ibid: "*Janapade dhuvaḥhāvaṃ thāvarabhāvaṃ patto, na sakkā kenaci cāletuṃ janapade vā tamhi thāvariyaṇṇapatto anussuko sakammani rato acalako asampabedhī*."

4. Cf. Nidāna-Kathā in Fausbøll's Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 56, where the *Lakṣaṇa-paṭiggāhaka* Brahmin astrologers and diviners are said to have declared with regard to the future of Prince Siddhārtha: "*Imehi lakṣaṇehi samannāgato agāraṃ ajjhāvasa-māno rājā hoti cakkavatti pabbajjamāno Buddho* ti." "If one endowed with these marks choose to keep to household life, one is destined to be a king overlord, and choosing to renounce worldly life, one is destined to be an Enlightened Master."

The nobility of origin is one of the primary conditions. Regarding the nobility of Khāravēla's origin, we read in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (1) that he was *Cetarājavam̐sa-vadhana*, "the increaser of the royal House of King Ceta" (I. 1); (2) that he was *rājisivaṃsakula-vinīṣita*, "emanated from the family and line of royal sages" (I. 16); and (3) that he was installed as a great king in the third generation of two kings belonging to the reigning dynasty of *Kaliṅga* (*tatiye Kaliṅgārājavam̐se purisa-yuge mahārājābhisecanaṃ pāpunūti*).¹

Prof. Sten Konow prefers, in agreement with Mr. Jayaswal and Prof. F. W. Thomas, to read *Cetirājavam̐sa-vadhana*. We fully appreciate the force of his argument that the reading *Ceti* (*Cedi*) is quite in keeping with the adjective *rājisivaṃsakula-vinīṣita* whereby Khāravēla claimed to have descended from an ancient family of royal sages. In adhering to the reading *Ceta*, our own point is that it is equally in keeping with the very same adjective, and does not at the same time make itself open to dispute from the palæographic point of view.

In the Vessantara-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 547), *Ceta* occurs as an alternative spelling of *Cetiya*, *Cetarat̐ṭha* being the same kingdom as *Cetiya-rat̐ṭha* of the Cetiya-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 422). In the same Jātaka, the ruling people of the *Ceta* or *Cetiya* Kingdom are represented as *Cetiya*, *Cetā* and *Cetaputtā*, which conclusively proves that *Ceta* was an alternative spelling of *Ceti*, and that the *Cetas* or *Cetis* as a ruling people were known as the descendants of King *Ceta*. The information thus derived from the Vessantara-Jātaka is doubly significant inasmuch as the references are all found in the verse-quotations. The prose narrative which is peculiar to the commentary-version of the Birth-story contains an additional information concerning a land-route connecting Jetuttaranagara, the capital of the Sivi kingdom, with the Brahmin village Dunnivīṭṭha, situated in the kingdom of Kaliṅga. We are told that the mountain named Suvannagiritāla was at a distance of five *yojanas* from Jetuttaranagara, that the river named Kontimārā was at a distance of five *yojanas* from the Suvannagiritāla mountain, that the mountain named Arañjaragiri was at a distance of five *yojanas* from the Kontimārā river, that the Brahmin village named Dunnivīṭṭha, situated in the kingdom of Kaliṅga, was at a distance of five *yojanas*, that the capital of the Ceta kingdom was at a distance of ten *yojanas* from the Dunnivīṭṭha Brahmin village, and that the total distance

1. Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, I. 1.

between Jetuttaranagara and the capital of the Ceta or Cetiya kingdom covered thirty *yojanas*.¹

The Vedabbha-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 48) points to the existence of a high road (*māhūmagga*) from Benares to Cetiyaṛaṭṭha, which was not safe in all parts, "being infested with roving bands of marauders."

The Cetiya-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 422) represents Upacara or Uparicara as the king of Ceti (*Cetiya-rājā*) whose genealogy could be traced back to Mahāsammata, the first known king of the Solar line, who reigned in the kingdom of Ceti (*Cetiyaṛaṭṭhe*), in the city of Sotthivatī, and who was gifted with four supernormal faculties. He was known also by the name of Apacara. His five sons are said to have built after his death five cities in five directions, to wit, Hatthipura in the east, Assapura in the south, Sihapura in the west, Uttarapañcāla in the north, and Daddarapura in the north-west. And the great Brahmin named Kapila is said to have been his family priest.

In referring to the above Jātaka, the Milinda-Pañha mentions the name of the king as Suraparicara, and says that he reigned in the land of the Ceti (*Cetisu*).²

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri seems to be perfectly justified in identifying the Ceti-king Upacara, or Suraparicara with Vasu Uparicara, who is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 1-2) as the Paurava king of Cedi.³ And there is probably nothing to object to Prof. Rapson's identification of the Cedi-king Vasu Uparicara with Kasu Caidya, the king of the land of the Cedis, who is praised in the Ṛg-Veda (VIII. 5. 37-39), in a hymn containing *dānastuti* at its end. Dr. Raychaudhuri rightly observes that in the Mahābhārata account, too, the five sons of the Cedi-king are said to have founded the five different imperial lines of kings,⁴ Brhadratha among the Magadha people, Pratyagraha, Kuśāmba the Maṇivāhana, Māvella and the unconquerable Yadu. The tradition in the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32-6-9) "associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kausāmbī, Mahodaya and Girivraja."

All these are legendary accounts of Ceta and the Ceti or Cedis. But these are not without their bearing on the Hāthi-Gumpha text. These enable us not only to grasp the significance of Khāravela's epithet

1. Fausböll's Jātaka, Vol. VI, pp. 514, 521.

2. Milinda-Pañha, Trenckner's edition, p. 202.

3-4. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 82.

Cetarājavamśa-vadhana or *Cetirājavamśa-vadhana* but also to appreciate why he has been praised as *rājisivamśakula-vinīsita*.

The third statement as to Khāravela being installed as a mighty king in the third generation of two kings belonging to the then reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga, implies that he ascended the throne of Kaliṅga by the lawful right of succession, which is to say, that he was in no sense a usurper of the royal power. Differences of opinion are bound to be as to the correct interpretation of the phrase *tatiye Kaliṅgarājavamśe purisa-yuge*. Mr. Jayaswal explains it as meaning "in the third dynasty of the Aira line of the kings of Kaliṅga," while with Dr. R. C. Majumdar it means "in the third generation of the Kaliṅga kings." Both the interpretations have obviously missed the technical sense of the expression *purisa-yuga*. As for the ordinal *tatiya* meaning "the third," there is no doubt that it qualifies *purisa-yuga*. For in the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's tenth regnal year (I. 11), we come across the expression *Kaliṅgarājavamśānam tatiyayugasagāvasāne* which, as a slightly different manipulation of the phrase *tatiye Kaliṅgarājavamśe purisa-yuge*, leaves no room for doubt that the numerical adjective *tatiya* was intended to be applied to *yuga* or *purisa-yuga*. Here the plural form of *Kaliṅgarājavamśa* might seem to bear out Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation. But we must not forget that the word *purisa* is understood, and that the expression *Kaliṅgarājavamśānam* may be better interpreted as meaning "of those of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga."

The *yuga*, *saga* (*sarga*) and *vaṃsa* are three of the main subject-matters of a Hindu Purāṇa. The term *tatiya-yuga* presupposes the Indian tradition of *caturyuga*, "the four *yugas*," each of the *yugas* implying, according to Hindu cosmogony, a distinct "age" in the development of the world-system, the term "age" being used in the same sense as in "the Golden Age," "the Iron Age," and so forth. Thus it may be shown that the Hindu sense of *yuga* or of *caturyuga* is primarily cosmogonic.

The term *saga* or *sarga* signifies, according to Hindu cosmogony, a stage or landmark in, or a sectional presentation of, the creative evolution of the cosmos.¹ It is precisely in the sense of sectional presentation or chapter-division that the term *sarga* has been used in both

1. Śrīdharasvāmī in his *Ṭikā* on the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, I. 2. 66, explains *sarga* as a synonym of *śṛṅgi*: *sargādīkartinā aśeṣamūrttiḥ śṛṅgyādirūpaḥ* cf. the terms *Brahmasarga*, *devasarga*, *bhūtasarga*, and the like used in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, I. 5. 18-24.

the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, it being conveniently rendered in English as "canto." Several *sargas* or cantos go to make a book called *parva* or *kāṇḍa*. Thus it may be shown that we are justified in interpreting the term *saga* in *yugasaga* in the sense of a "part," "portion" or "period" of a *yuga*.

Keeping the tradition of cosmogonic *caturyuga* as a presupposition, the Buddha or the Buddhist conceived four *yugas* (*cattāri yugāni*) of *Ariyapuggalas*, "those of the Aryan lineage,"¹ which is the same as to say, the Buddha or the Buddhist conceived four *purisa-yugas* (*cattāri purisa-yugāni*) in *Ariyavaṃsa*, "the Aryan lineage,"² understanding the term *yuga* in the sense of *yugga* (couple) or *yamaka* (twin).³ Thus with the Buddhists the four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* denote the four couples of Aryan personalities (*purisa-puggalas*) representing the eight notable stages in the progress of the Buddhist pilgrim towards Arahatsip, which is his final destination. A notion of sequence or succession is implied in the Buddhist enumeration of four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* as *paṭhama* (the first), *dutiya* (the second), *tatiya* (the third) and *catuttha* (the fourth). But each *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* considered by itself, eliminates altogether the notion of sequence or succession, for a *yuga*, to be worth the name, requires as a *sine quā non* the co-existence of two persons, one representing, as the Buddhist put it, the stage of inception (*maggaṭṭha*), and the other that of fruition (*phalaṭṭha*).⁴

Corresponding to *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* in Pāli, we have the use of *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* in the Hāthi-Gumphā text. And the expression *tatiya-yuga* or *tatiya purisa-yuga* suggests the same kind of gradational enumeration as that of four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* in Pāli. If so, there is no other alternative but to interpret the expression in the Hāthi-Gumphā text in the sense of the third couple of royal personages, one representing the fifth king and the other the sixth king of one and the same reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga. This is precisely the sense sought to be conveyed by the rendering "the third generation of two kings."

1. *Ratana-Sutta* in the *Sutta-Nipāta* and the *Khuddaka-Pāṭha*, verse :

Ye puggalā atṭhasata-pasatthā | Cattāri etāni yugāni honti |

2. *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Vol. II : *Cattāri purisa-yugāni atṭha-purisa-puggalā*.

3. Cf. Pāli *sāvaka-yuga*. The chapter which bears the name of *Yamakavagga* in the Pāli *Dhammapada* is entitled *Yugavarga* in the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*.

4. *Paramattha-Jotikā*, *Khuddaka-Pāṭha-Commentary* : *Sotāpattimaggaṭṭhophalaṭṭho'ti ekaṃ yugaṃ, evaṃ tava Arahattamaggaṭṭho-phalaṭṭho'ti ekekaṃ yuganti cattāri yugāni honti*.

Does it imply a conjoint rule of two kings of the same royal family reigning at the same time, and if so, in what sense? In upholding the interpretation offered by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the text of the Andhau inscription as implying a conjoint rule of King Chaṣṭana, the grandfather, and King Rudradāman I, the grandson, of the same Kṣaharāta royal family, Dr. H. C. Raychandhuri calls our attention to a number of facts deserving consideration: (1) the account given by Diodorus of the political constitution of Tauala (Patala), the Indus Delta, as having been drawn on the lines of the Spartan, enjoining the conjoint rule of two kings representing the two eldest representatives of the ruling clan and as vesting the command in war in two hereditary kings of different houses; (2) the mention of *dvirāja* in the Atharva-Veda (V. 20. 9) in the sense of a conjoint rule of two; (3) the danger of *dvairāja*, the conjoint rule of two kings, in the event of their disagreement and mutual enmity and hostility, discussed in the Artha-Śāstra (VIII. 2. 128);¹ (4) the system of *dorajja* (*dvairāja*), referred to in the Jaina Āyāranga-Sutta; (5) the case of King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the father, and King Duryodhana, the son, reigning together, to be cited from the Mahābhārata; (6) the case of Eukratides and his son reigning together to be cited from Justin's work; and (7) the conjoint rule of Strato I and Strato II or that of Azes and Azilises, to be cited among other instances.²

The overwhelming evidence thus produced goes to prove that there is no inherent improbability of a conjoint rule of two kings in each generation of the then reigning dynasty of Kalinga being implied in the two Hāthi-Gumghā expressions: (1) *tatiye Kalinṅgarāja-ramse purisa-yuge*, and (2) *Kalinṅgarājaramsānām tatiyayugasagārasāne*. But

1. N. N. Law in his well-informed article on "Technical Institutions" (Indian Historical Quarterly), maintains that *dvairāja* or "the rule by two kings" was, according to the Artha-Śāstra, a *vyasana* or "distress" of the royal state, it implying rather an abnormal than a normal state of things. The *dvatrāja* form of government must have been ushered in as a means of avoiding keeping the crown-prince waiting indefinitely till the death or retirement of the reigning king.

2. Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 308. Attention has also been drawn to an anecdote in the Mahāvastu (III, p. 432), in which three sons of King Mahendra, the three uterine brothers, are said to have conjointly reigned in Simhapura, the capital of Kalinga. But attention might also be drawn to the Buddhist tradition of nine Nanda brothers, the nine kings of the pre-Mauryan Nanda dynasty, reigning conjointly in Magadha.

to be sure about it, as well as to form an idea of the personal relation of the two reigning kings in each generation in the aforesaid sense, we must carefully take the Lalita-Vistara use of the term *puruṣa-yuga* into our consideration.

The Lalita-Vistara mentions the following characteristics, among others, of an ideal royal family fit to be graced by the birth of the Buddha:

Puruṣayugasampannam ca tatkulam bhavati.

Pārvapuruṣayugasampannam ca tatkulam bhavati.

Abhijātapuruṣayugasampannam ca tatkulam bhavati.

Abhilakṣitapuruṣayugasampannam ca tatkulam bhavati.

Maheśākhyapuruṣayugasampannam ca tatkulam bhavati.

Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra translates these :—

“Such a family is.....remarkable for having two generations (living at the same time). It has two predecessors, as well as two successors (living at the same time). It has two special generations living, and having a member of the name of Maheśa in two successive generations.”

We offer the following as a correct rendering of them :—

“Such a family is noted for having throughout a connecting link between¹ two successive representative men. It has in its previous generation a connecting link between two successive representative men. It has in its present generation a connecting link between two successive representative men. It has also in its coming generation a connecting link between two successive representative men. It has throughout a connecting link of two greatly powerful successive representative men.”

The idea of an uninterrupted continuity of the royal line from father to son is contemplated in the Lalita-Vistara passage concerning *puruṣa-yuga*. In the life-time of the grandfather and father, the son and grandson are to be in full vigour of life ensuring the prospect of the birth of the great-grandson and great-great-grandson. Considered in this light, if the grandfather and father represent the first *puruṣa-yuga*, the son and grandson represent the second, and the great-grandson and great-great-grandson represent the third. And if, as is recorded in the Hāthi-Gumphā text, the third *puruṣa-yuga* of the then reigning dynasty of Kalinga was completed with the birth of Prince Khāravēla, it follows that Prince Khāravēla was the great-great-grandson of the first king of this

1. Literally, a coupling of.

dynasty, and that the part of the third couple (*tatiya-yuga-saga*) could be over only with the death of his father. Keeping consistency with this meaning of *puruṣa-yuga*, as used in the Hāthi-Gumphā text, we might say that Khāravela's father remained joined as a king with his grandfather when he had been discharging the administrative functions as the crown-prince for nine years from his sixteenth to his twenty-fourth year; that on the death of his grandfather he himself became joined with his father as a king as soon as he completed his twenty-fourth year; that his father died in the eleventh year of his reign in the record whereof we are told that the part of the third couple was over by that time and he paid proper homage to the memory of the former kings of Kalinga, which is to say, he performed the *śrādh* ceremony; and that Kadampa-Kudepa came to be joined with him as a king after the death of his father in the eleventh year of his reign. If the cave standing in the name of Kadampa-Kudepa was one of the 117 caves excavated in the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign, it is evident from the epithets, *Aira*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāmeghavāhana* and *Kalīṅgādhipati*, adorning the name of Kadampa-Kudepa in the old Brāhmī inscription No. III, that Kadampa-Kudepa as the son of Khāravela was then joined with him as a king of Kalinga in the fullest sense of the term.¹

Like the nobility of origin and ancestral line, the brightness, perfection and dignity of the bodily form and appearance is a primary condition to be fulfilled by a prince destined to be a king overlord. The Indian popular feeling on this point has found a pithy expression in the following stanzas quoted in English translation from the Ulūka-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 270):

“The owl is king, you say, o’er all bird-kind :
 With your permission, may I speak my mind ?”

“I like not (with all deference be it said)
 To have the owl anointed as our Head.
 Look at his face ! if this good humour be,
 What will he do when he looks angrily.”

1. The meaning made out is this : A and B represent the first *puruṣa-yuga* ; after the death of A, the first *yuga* comes to be partly over and C comes to be joined as a king with B ; after the death of B, C and D combine to represent the second *puruṣa-yuga* ; after the death of C, the second *yuga* comes to be partly over and E comes to be joined as a king with D ; after the death of D, E and F combine to represent the third *puruṣa-yuga* ; after the death of E, the third *yuga* comes to be partly over (*tatiyayugasagasāna*) and G comes to be joined as a king with F.

The Mūgapakkha-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 538) bears testimony to the fact that bodily infirmity or deformity was considered an unbearable disgrace to a royal family. The Aśoka legends, as found in the Divyāvadāna and the Mahāvamsa-Tīkā, bring out the fact that the ugliness of appearance stood greatly in the way of Aśoka when he was still a prince. The description in the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 1) goes to prove that Khāravela as a prince had the very best bodily form "glowing with graceful majesty, so lovely as to captivate the heart of Grace herself, a veritable god Viṣṇu in the human garb." So much is implied indeed in the adjective *siri-kaḍḍāra-sarīravā*.

Proficiency in polite learning is another primary condition. Here the term 'polite learning' involves the study and practice of various useful sciences and arts. Proficiency in sciences implies the sound theoretical knowledge of the principles and details of the systems, and proficiency in arts implies the intelligent and skilful use or application of those principles and details. As to proficiency in polite learning in the above sense, the pronouncement of the Artha-Śāstra (I. 5. 2) is:—

Vidyā vinīto rājā hi prajānāṃ vinaye rataḥ |
Ananyāṃ pṛthivīm bhūṃkte sarvabhūtaḥ rataḥ ||

"The king who is well brought up in the discipline of sciences and arts, and engaged in bringing up his subjects in discipline, enjoys the earth without sharing it with others, doing good to all living beings under his rule."

The Artha-Śāstra (1.5.2) prescribes the following courses of study for a prince: (1) a prince should learn the alphabet and practise writing (*lipi*), and should learn counting and arithmetic (*samkhyāna*) from the ceremony of tonsure to that of investiture with sacred thread, that is to say, from the third or fifth year to the ninth or tenth year; (2) from the ninth or tenth year to the sixteenth year, a prince should study the Brahmanical treatises based upon the Three Vedas (*trayī*) and the systems of speculative philosophy (*Ānvīkṣakī*) under the teachers of acknowledged authority, should acquire the knowledge of the science of wealth (*Vārtā*) under the superintendents of various departments, and should acquire the knowledge of the science of government (*Dandanīti*) under those who are adepts in theories as well as in practical application; and (3) from the sixteenth year onwards, a prince should spend the forenoon in receiving lessons in military tactics concerning the proper handling of troops and of weapons, and the afternoon in hearing the *Purāṇa*, the *Itivṛtta*, the *Ākhyāyikā*, the

Udāharaṇa, the *Dharma-śāstra*, and the *Artha-śāstra*, all of which go by the name of *Itihāsa*.

To the same effect we read in the *Milindapañha* (Trenckner's edition, p. 178):—

“*Mahiyā rājaputtānaṃ hatthi-assa-ratha-dhann-tharu-lekha-muddā-sikkhā-khattamanta-suti-muti-yujjha-yujjhāpana-kiriyā-karaṇīyā.*”

“The princes of the earth are to learn the arts of writing and counting and of handling the weapons and troops, and are to put into practice the principles of polity, *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and the sciences of war and warfare.”

This is but a rough and ready way of enumerating in one breath the list of sciences and arts, which the Indian princes were required to learn, and make judicious and skilful use of. We may take it for granted that the list in contemplation of the author of the *Milindapañha* is virtually the same as that in the *Artha-Śāstra*. The *Milindapañha* furnishes us with a list of nineteen sciences and arts in all, in which King Milinda-Menander, its ideal Indo-Bactrian Greek prince, gained high proficiency. We read: “Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law; the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Nyāya*, and *Vaiśeṣika* systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine; the four *Vedas*; the *Purāṇas*, and the *Itihāsas*; astronomy, magic, causation, and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveying—in a word, the whole nineteen.”¹

Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I is represented in his *Junāgaḥ* inscription (circa 150 A.D.) as a prince who “gained fame by studying grammar (*śabda*), polity (*artha*), music (*gāndharva*), logic (*nyāya*), etc.”

As to Prince *Khāravela*'s education and ability, the *Hāthi-Gumphā* text (I.1) represents him (1) as one who was *lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-varahāra-vidhi-viśārada*, and (2) as one who was *savarijāradāta*. It will be a mistake to suppose that the second adjective, *savarijāradāta*, “one whose self was purified by proficiency in all Indian polite learning,” has been used in apposition with the first. The term *savarijā* (*(sarva.vidyā)*), the whole of Indian polite learning, is meant to include *lekha, rūpa*, and the rest enumerated in the body of the first adjective but not to be exhausted by them. There are two very strong arguments against taking *sara-vijā* as limited or exhausted by *lekha, rūpa* and the rest. First, we find

1. This is Rhys Davids' rendering of the *Milinda* text (pp. 3-4) which reads: *bahūni c'assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathidaṃ; suti sammuti saṅkhyā yogā nīti vīsesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikicchā rūtibbedā purāṇā itihāsaṃ joti-ā māyā hetu mantaṇā yuddhā chandasā muḍḍā, vacanena ekūnavāsati.*

that the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 4) has praised him as *Gaṇḍhavarada-budha*, "one who was versed in the science of music—the Gandharvalore." This goes at once to show that *sava-vijā* of Khāravela's inscription includes the science of music which is not mentioned in the first adjective.

Secondly, the fact that King Khāravela ventured, in the very second year of his reign, to defy so powerful a rival as King Śātakarṇi in triumphantly marching with all the four divisions of his army amply attests that he excelled, even while he was yet a prince, in the art of war and warfare (*yuṣṭha-yuṣṭhāpana-kiriyā*), which is to say, that *sava-vijā* in Khāravela's inscription is meant also to include *yuddha-vidyā*. The same inference may be drawn from the many acts of valour recorded in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription.

Nevertheless, the expression *sava-vijā*, as employed in Khāravela's inscription, suffers from vagueness and indefiniteness. What was precisely the traditional total of *vidyā* (sciences and arts) prescribed for the education and training of Indian princes in the days of Khāravela we cannot say. The *Milindapañha* (circa first century A.D.) mentions the total as nineteen (*vacanena ekūnavīsati*), while the *Nidāna-kathā* of the Pāli *Jātaka*-commentary (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, I. p. 58) speaks of twelve (*dvādaśavidhaṃ sippaṃ*), including archery (*dhanuggaha*).

The Vātsyāyana *Kāma-Sūtra* enumerates the ancient Indian sciences and arts called *yogas* under sixty-four heads (*cātuḥṣaṣṭhikā yogā*), implying that by the time the *Sūtra* was compiled in the extant form (circa 3rd or 4th century A. D.), the traditional total came to be reckoned at sixty-four. This total, once established, continued to be in use and gained a proverbial character in the later Hindu expression *cātuḥṣaṣṭi-kalā*. The *Kāma-Sūtra* enumerates, as pointed out by Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra,¹ the sixty-four *yogas* as sciences and arts to be learnt and practised by "the young maidens aspiring for the position of court-ladies or for that of expert courtezans, either alone or in the company of their tutors, fellow students, friends of the same age, etc." Strangely enough, Śrīdhara Svāmī in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, represents the Yadu' princes Bala-deva and Vāsudeva as learning the sixty-four science and arts.

Although references to all or most of the sciences and arts can be traced in such an ancient Buddhist work as the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, *Brahmajāla-Sutta*,

1. Rājendra Lāla Mitra's translation of the *Lalita-Vistara*, pp. 186-8.

it is difficult to conceive the total sixty-four as coming into existence much before the third or fourth century A. D.

The Hāthi-Gumphī description of Prince Khāravela's proficiency in learning, *lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-varahūra-vidhi-viśārada* and *savavijāvadāta*, seems to correspond almost to a description of Prince Siddhārtha's education in the Lalita-Vistara (Ch. X), which runs as follows :—

Śāstrāṇi yāni pracaranti manuṣyaloke |
Samkhyā lipiś ca gaṇanāni ca dhātutantram ||
Ye śilpasya prṛthu lokika aprameyāḥ |
Teṣveṣu śikṣitu purā bahukalpakotyah ||

The parallel thus quoted from the Lalita-Vistara enables us to interpret the Hāthi-Gumphā expression *saravijā* (*sarva-vidyā*) as implying "whatever subjects of study are current in the world of men, the various multitudinous sciences and arts that are of use to the generality of mankind,"¹ that is to say, "the whole of the Indian polite learning prevalent at that time."

Of the four enumerated subjects of study, *saṃkhyā*, *lipi*, *gaṇanā* and *dhātutantra*, the first two are met with in the Artha-Śāstra (I. 5.2); and the second and the fourth are met with in the Milindapañha (p. 178) in the form of *lekha* and *muddā*. The Lalita-Vistara and the Artha-Śāstra have used the term *saṃkhyā* or *saṃkhyāna* in the simple meaning of counting the numbers. All the three texts have used the term *lipi* or *lekha* in the simple meaning of the knowledge and writing of alphabet or alphabets. The term *dhātutantra*, as used in the Lalita-Vistara, does not seem to convey the idea of the knowledge of verbal roots, the meaning in which Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra has interpreted it. The term *dhātutantra* appears to have been used just as another expression for *muddā* (*mudrā*) in the Milindapañha.² Buddhaghoṣa has explained *muddā* as meaning *hatthamuddā-gaṇanā*, which may be rendered as "counting the totals on one's fingers." The word *hatthamuddā* is generally taken to mean a 'seal-ring.' But none need be surprised if in *hatthamuddā* (*hastamudrā*) we trace a word similar to *kīlamudrā* in the ancient Kharoṣṭhī documents, and if

1. For the enumeration of the science and arts, see the Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XII, pp. 156-157 (Lefmann's edition).

2. The Lalita-Vistara itself substitutes *mudrā* for *dhātutantra* in a second enumeration in Ch. XII, p. 156 (Lefmann's edition): *lipi-mudrā-gaṇanā-saṃkhyā*.

the same was a current name for 'a punch-marked coin.' If so, the *dhātutantra* was no other than a *mudrāśāstra* dealing with the rules of calculation applied to monetary transactions,—to transactions by metallic media of exchange.

We think that the enumerated four subjects of study may be conveniently reduced to three to make them correspond to three in the Hāthi-Gumphā text, the term *lipi* corresponding to *lekha*, the term *dhātutantra* or *mudrā* to *rūpa*, and the terms *saṃkhyā* and *gaṇanā* to *gaṇanā*.

Mr. Jayaswal is in the right to suggest that the three terms *lekha*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā*, as used in the Hāthi-Gumphā text, were intended to have a deeper significance than what they generally implied in popular usage. The term *lekha* was not used to mean simply the knowledge of the alphabet and the practice of alphabet-writing. The learning and writing of alphabet has been proscribed in the Artha-Śāstra as a course of study for a beginner, for a prince of three or five years of age. *Lekha* in the sense of mere knowledge and writing of alphabet is evidently inconsistent with the adjective *lekhaṃśārada*, representing Prince Khāravela as 'an expert in the art of writing' in the Hāthi-Gumphā record giving an account of the nine years spent by Khāravela as a crown-prince, from his fifteenth to his twenty-fourth year. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription says that Khāravela passed the first fifteen years of his life just playing the games befitting his young age. But we shall misinterpret this statement to assume that Prince Khāravela commenced to learn *ka*, *kha*, *ga* just after he completed his fifteenth year and not before. The statement goes rather to show that he commenced his career as a crown-prince when he passed as "an expert in all matters relating to the art of writing." The statement as to his spending the first fifteen years of his life in princely games has no meaning except as implying that he spent these years unmindful of and without being called to the responsibility of administration.

This may suffice to justify us in interpreting the term *lekha* in the Hāthi-Gumphā text in the same wider and deeper sense as *lekha* or *śāsana* (royal writs) in the Artha-Śāstra (II. 9-28).

Similarly we are not to take *rūpa* as a simple term for the counting of the totals of stamped coins but in the wider and deeper sense of all matters relating to coinage and currency, all transactions in which the medium of exchange is a factor, more or less in the same sense *rūpa* in the Artha-Śāstra.

In the same way we are not to take *gaṇanā* as a simple term for counting or calculation but in the wider and deeper sense of all matters

relating to accounting, more or less in the same sense as *gaṇanā* in Aśoka's R. E. III and in the Artha-Śāstra (II. 7. 25).

Over and above *lekha*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā*, we have the use of two other words, to wit, *varahāra* and *vidhi*. In the compound *lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi*, *vidhi* may be either combined with each of the preceding words and interpreted in the sense of "rule," *lekha-vidhi*, "the rule of writing," *rūpa-vidhi*, "the rule of coinage and currency," etc., or treated as a separate term *per se*. We have tentatively translated *vavahāra-vidhi* by "administration and procedures," which is somewhat vague and misleading. The Sanskrit term *vyavahāra* corresponding to *vavahāra* has been clearly defined in the Artha-Śāstra (III. 1. 58) as *vyavahārika-śāstra*, "judicial, administration and procedures in accordance with established conventions." Treating *vidhi* as a separate term, Mr. Jayaswal has sought to interpret it in the sense of *dharma-śāstra*. There is no inherent improbability of this sense of *vidhi*. The term *vidhi* has been used in the Artha-Śāstra in the sense of *kriyā-vidhi*, "the rule of action." But *varahāra*, too, is just a "rule of action," the difference between the two being that while *vidhi* implies state-action in accordance with the established laws of human conduct and duty, *vavahāra* implies state-action in accordance with established conventions. In the two enumerations of four things in the Artha-Śāstra (III. 1. 58), *caritra* has been replaced by *saṁsthā* or *dharmaśāstra*, and *rājaśāsana* by *nyāya* or *daṇḍa*. It is quite possible that *vidhi* in the Hāthi-Gumphā text is just a synonym for *nyāya* (Artha-Śāstra, I. 5. 2), or *caritra* or *saṁsthā* or *dharmaśāstra* (Artha-Śāstra, III. 1. 58).

Varahāra of Khāravēla's inscription is obviously the same word as *viyohāla* of Aśoka's P. E. IV, in which *viyohāla* stands in contradistinction to *daṇḍa* : *viyohāla-samatā ca daṇḍa-samatā*. We fully agree with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in interpreting *viyohāla-samatā* in the sense of "uniformity of procedures" but differ from him, as well as from Prof. Bühler, both of whom take *viyohāla* to be a synonym of *abhihāla* (Pāli *abhihāra*). Prof. Bühler seems, however, to be right in interpreting the Aśokan expression *abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā* as signifying "in the awards of reward or punishment" on the authority of the Sambhava-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 515) where *abhihāra* is paraphrased by *pūjā*. We prefer to take *daṇḍa* of *daṇḍa-samatā* as an equivalent of *nyāya* or *rāja-śāsana* of the Artha-śāstra, to interpret *daṇḍa-samatā* in the sense of "uniformity of decisions," and to explain *abhihāla* and *daṇḍa* as meaning respectively "decisions for" and "decisions against."

There is nothing in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription to indicate that Prince Khāravela was sent out of Kālīṅga for his education to such a place as Taxila, which was famous as an ancient seat of learning. On the other hand, the recorded facts go to show that he spent the first twenty-four years of his life in Kālīṅga. In all probability he was placed during the first fifteen years of his life under an experienced tutor,—a *vrddha* in the language of the Artha-Sāstra, just in the same way that Prince Siddhārtha was placed, according to the Lalita-Vistara, under a tutor named Viśvāmitra, and the Yadu princes Balarāma and Vāsudeva were placed, according to the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, under a tutor named Sāndīpaṇi. It also seems probable that, while a crown-prince, he received a practical training in the art of administration at the hands of the high functionaries in charge of various departments, and acquired the knowledge of the systems of religion and philosophy at the hands of the saintly and far-famed ascetic and recluse teachers in Kālīṅga.

The numerical strength of family members, relations and retainues is another primary condition to be fulfilled by a prince destined to be a king overlord. On this point we are supplied with some information in the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's thirteenth regnal year where we read that his queens, sons, brothers, relatives and the royal servants co-operated with him in excavating one hundred and seventeen caves on *Kumārī-pavata*, the Kumārī hill, to provide resident Arhats (Jain saints) with accommodations and shelters for resting their bodies.

The old Brāhmī inscription No. II records the upper cave of the Mañcapurī group as an excavation of Khāravela's chief queen and a dedication to the recluses in Kālīṅga. Thus this inscription furnishes us with a corroborative evidence of the truth of the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's thirteenth regnal year. The expression "the recluses in Kālīṅga" may be viewed as explanatory of the Hāthi-Gumphā expression "resident Arhats."

The very fact that she has been honoured as the chief queen (*agamahisi*) of His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, the king overlord of Kālīṅga, goes to prove that King Khāravela had queens more than one, that his chief queen was not the only queen, and that she was just the queen consort, the chief one among the queens, although we cannot definitely say among how many queens in all. Although this is a fact that Khāravela had queens more than one, we do not know altogether how many caves were donated by his queens. Aśoka's "Queen's Edict" introducing Kāluvākī as his second queen (*dutiya devī*) enables us to say that King

Aśoka had at least two queens of whom Kāluvākī was the second in rank. The old Brāhmī inscription No. II, containing a reference to Khāravela's chief queen, leaves the question as to the number of his queens entirely open.

Some of the caves on the Kumārī hill were excavated by Khāravela's sons in the thirteenth year of his reign, and King Khāravela became thirty-seven years old in his thirteenth regnal year. If he had married in the sixteenth year of his life and a son was born in that very year, his eldest son could not be older than twenty-one years when the caves were excavated. He had sons more than one, but altogether how many sons he then had, and how many by each of his queens we cannot say. In the Mañcapurī group of three caves, the cave in the upper storey was an excavation of Khāravela's chief queen, the corresponding cave in the lower storey was an excavation of King Kadampa-kudepa, and the side cave in the lower storey is said to have been an excavation of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha. In the inscriptions of King Kadampa-Kudepa (No. II) and Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha (No. IV) their personal relationship with King Khāravela is not at all indicated. But the grouping of the three caves in the manner just described seems to indicate that even in the works of art and architecture the mother has sought to be combined with her two sons, of whom King Kadampa-Kudepa was the elder¹ and Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha the younger.

The brothers of King Khāravela have been referred to as excavators of some of the caves in the record of his thirteenth regnal year. No caves have, as yet, been discovered with inscriptions recording their names. Had there been found out any such inscriptions, as princes of the same royal house, their names would have been recorded each as a "Kumāra-Prince," precisely as in the case of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha.

As regards Khāravela's kinsfolk among the excavators of the caves we have no definite information from the old Brāhmī inscriptions. Two of these inscriptions (Nos. VI-VII) record the name of one Cūlakamma (Kṣudrakarma, Junior Karma) as the excavator of two separate caves. The inscription No. VIII records the name of Kamma (Karma) as the gentleman who donated the chambers of one of the caves, and the name of Kṣiṇā (Kṣiṇā) as the lady who donated the frontal building construction.

1. R. D. Banerji observes : "A minor inscription mentions a king of Kaliṅga named Kūḍepa-siri who may be a descendant or a successor of Khāravela as he bears the same titles as Khāravela" (JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 505).

The association of the two names in one and the same inscription as well as in one and the same work of art and architecture is significant, and it may be taken to indicate that the gentleman was the husband and that the lady was his wife. It may be inferred from the two names, Kamma and Cūlakamma, that the gentlemen known by these two names were related to each other as brothers, of whom Kamma was the elder and Cūlakamma the younger. It seems probable that Kamma, Cūlakamma and Khijā were counted among Khāravēla's kinsfolk.

With regard to the royal officers and servants among the excavators of the caves, we have one inscription (No. IX), in which a gentleman named Bhūti has been distinctly mentioned as a Town-judge (*Nagara-akha-damśa*),—a designation corresponding to *Nagalaka-mahāmāta* or *Nagalavi-yohālīka-mahāmāta* in Aśoka's S.R.E.I., and to *Nāgaraka* in the Artha-Sāstra (II. 35. 56); one inscription (No. X), in which Nākiya of Bārivā has been represented as a High-functionary with ministerial duties (*Mahāmada*); and one inscription (No. XIV), in which the donor Kusuma has been described as a *Pādamūlika*. Kusuma, as his inscription shows, donated more caves than one (*leṇāni*).

It is suggested that *Pādamūlika* may be regarded as a local patronymic signifying a man belonging to a locality named *Pādamūla*. But we must draw the reader's attention to the Asadisa-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 131) in which the *Rāja-pādamūlikas* ("Servers of the royal feet") figure as the attendants who were in close touch with the king. Prof. Cowell and Mr. Rouse in their English translation, have rendered *Rāja-pādamūlikā* as "slaves," and we, following Mr. R. D. Banerji, have rendered *Pādamūlika* of the inscription as "Menial." Now it would seem that the *Rāja-pādamūlikas* or *Pādamūlikas* were not slaves or menials of an ordinary kind. For, according to the Buddhist Birth-story, they were the persons who slandered Prince Peerless to the king, his brother. In Mr. Francis' rendering of the Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 523), the *Rāja-pādamūlikas* stand forth as "king's attendants." This Birth-story relates that on his return home from Takkasilā as a master of archery, Sarabhaṅga, the royal chaplain's son, was appointed a *Rāja-pādamūlika* by the king of Benares in compliance with the request of his father. He daily attended on the king (*upatthahi*) and daily received a thousand pieces of money, a much higher honorarium than "the king's attendants" could ordinarily expect. On the display of his skill in archery, he was soon promoted to the post of commander-in-chief, a fact which clearly proves that the king's attendant's rank was a lower status than that of a commander-in-chief.

The inscription No. X is capable of an interpretation, according to which Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya may appear as joint donors of one and the same cave. Should this be accepted as the correct interpretation, it may be inferred from the order of the three names that Mahāmada, the father, Bāriyā, the mother, and Nākiya, the son, were associated in one and the same work of art and architecture.

In the inscription of Khāravēla's chief queen (No. II), Her Majesty has been represented as *rājino Lāḍkaśa Hathisā(ī)ha-saṃpanātasa dhutā*, "the daughter of the high-souled king Hastisāha or Hastisimha of rising glory." In this reading and rendering, it is difficult to ascertain whether *Lāḍka* is a royal epithet derived from the name of the kingdom of which Hastisāha-Hastisimha was the king or it is just a title of praise similar to *Yasālāka* in the name *Yasālāka-Tissa* of a king of Ceylon mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. If it be a royal epithet derived from the name of the kingdom, it is easy to understand, first that Hastisāha-Hastisimha was the king of Lāla, and, secondly, that the royal families of Kaliṅga and Lāla were united by a matrimonial alliance. In accordance with the location suggested in the Mahāvamsa, Lāla or Lāḷa was a kingdom situated between Kaliṅga and Magadha,¹ in which case Lāla or Lāḷa cannot but be identified with Lāḷha or Rāḷha.² Accepting the other interpretation of *Lāḍka*, we fail altogether to understand of what kingdom Hastisāha-Hastisimha was the king. Whatever the correct interpretation, it is certain that Khāravēla's chief queen was a princess born of a distinguished royal family.

The possession of a superb state-elephant is one of the tests for determining the status of a king overlord. The royal style *Mahāmeghavāhana* adorning the names of Khāravēla and Kadampa-Kudepa goes to show that the state-elephant of the kings of the royal family of which they were the descendants was known by the name of *Mahāmegha*, "the Great Cloud." *Mahāmeghavāhana* is also an epithet of Indra, the king of the gods. This royal epithet may accordingly be taken to imply that Khāravēla and other kings of the *Mahāmeghavāhana* family were very powerful, each of them bearing comparison with Mahendra. Every Indian king was

1. Mahāvamsa, Ch. VI.

2. For the arguments in favour of the identification of Lāla or Lāḷa with lāṭa in Western India, see S. K. Chatterji's "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I, p. 72, f.n.

regarded as an earthly representative of Indra or Mahendra. This is corroborated by the royal title *Imḍarāja* occurring in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text. The reading *Bhikkurāja* suggested by Mr. Jayaswal and others is out of the question. The elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga have been praised in the Artha-Sāstra (II. 2.20) as those of the noblest breed. The Kurudhamma and Vessantara Jātakas (Fausböll, Nos. 276, 547) bear testimony to the fact that a kind of religious sanctity was attached by the peoples of India to state-elephants.

The possession of enormous wealth in the shape of a large amount of ready money, vast stores of food-stuffs, precious stones, rich apparels, horses, elephants and other live-stocks is a test of the high fortune and prosperity of a king overlord. Fortunately, the Hāthi-Gumphā text is not lacking in information on all these points.

First, as to ready money and solvency of His Majesty's government, we find that King Khāravela possessed a sufficiently large amount to be in a position to spend 35,00,000 pieces, in the very first year of his reign, to repair the capital of Kaliṅga (I. 2); to spend 1,00,000 pieces, in his fifth regnal year, to bring the canal near the Tanasuliya or Tanasuli road, into the capital (I. 6); to remit within the kingdom of Kaliṅga all taxes and duties in his sixth regnal year, the taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousand pieces (I. 7); to spend some hundred thousand pieces, in his seventh regnal year, to organise a hundred kinds of pompous parade and to perform all ceremonies of victory (I. 8); to spend some hundred thousand pieces, in his eighth regnal year, to feast all sections of the people in Mathurā as well as in Kaliṅga (I. 9); to spend 38,00,000 pieces, in his ninth regnal year, to erect the 'Great-victory Palace' (I. 10); to spend 1,00,000 pieces, in his tenth regnal year, to pay due homage to the memory of the former kings of Kaliṅga (I. 11); to spend 75,00,000 pieces, in his fourteenth regnal year, to erect certain religious edifices (I. 15); to carry out, in his eleventh regnal year, the costly work of reclamation of Pithuḍa-Pithuḷaga, which had become converted into a watery jungle of grass (I. 12); to excavate, in his thirteenth regnal year, as many as 117 caves on the Kumārī hill (I. 14); and, last but not the least, to finance, in his second, fourth, eighth and twelfth regnal years, the expensive undertakings of military expeditions all over India (I. 3, I. 5, I. 9, I. 13).

In this connexion, three points of importance deserve consideration: (1) that in the Hāthi-Gumphā records of Khāravela's regnal years, just the amounts, 35,00,000, 38,00,000 and 75,00,000, are mentioned without any indication as to what sort of money, *Kīṛṣṣīpāṇi*, *Suvarṇa* or *Satamāṇi*,

was current at that time in Kālīṅga ; (2) that the treasury of the government inherited by King Khāravela was full of ready money to enable him to spend 35,00,000 pieces, in the very first year of his reign, for repairing the capital city ; and (3) that the annual income of His Majesty's government from the taxes and duties collected from his subjects in the kingdom of Kālīṅga, from the inhabitants of the towns and districts (*pora-jānapada*),¹ amounted to many hundred thousand pieces. Even leaving a good margin for hyperboles and exaggerations in the specified figures, one cannot but gather this impression from the Hāthi-Gumphā record, that Khāravela was a fabulously rich king or that Kālīṅga was a prosperous kingdom under his rule.

Secondly, as to food-stuffs, we find that King Khāravela possessed vast stores to be in a position to sumptuously feast, in his ninth regnal year, all sections of the community—the *religieux* of Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical orders, the ascetics and householders, the officials and non-officials once in Mathurā and subsequently in Kālīṅga (I. 9) ; and to arrange for similar feasts on several other occasions, such as at the time when he was formally installed in the throne (I. 1), when he organized festivities and merry gatherings (I. 4), when he performed all ceremonies of victory (I. 7), when he paid homage to the memory of his predecessors (I. 11), and, lastly, when he dedicated the caves and other religious edifices (I. 14, I. 15). King Aśoka in his R.E. I, says that formerly many hundred thousands of living beings were daily slaughtered in his kitchen for dainty dishes, while subsequently the number was reduced to three, two peafowls and one deer. Although he has expressed in it a pious wish to stop even the daily slaughter of three living beings, there is nothing in his inscriptions to indicate that he was an advocate of vegetarian diet. What is clear from his edicts, especially R.E. I, is that he undervalued sacrificial slaughter of life, killing living creatures in the name of religion. The Hāthi-Gumphā text is altogether silent on this point. If King Khāravela were a scrupulous Jain layman, it might have been expected from him that he would strictly observe vegetarian practice.

1. Jayaswal has taken infinite pains to establish that in contexts, such as that of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, where the terms *pora* and *Jānapada* are used in singular number, they are intended to denote two representative bodies of citizens and peoples. See, for a lengthy and detailed criticism of such an interpretation, N. N. Law's instructive paper—"The Jānapada and the Paura," in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3.

Thirdly, as to precious stones and the rest, we read in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that King Khāravela received abundant supplies of pearls, gems, jewels and various kinds of apparels as tribute from the then reigning king of Pāṇḍya whose kingdom was noted for those products and received as well precious stones and horses, elephants and antelopes as presents from a hundred Vāsukis (I. 13). The Vidyālhara-abode was apparently another territory wherefrom the precious metals were collected for filling the royal storehouse with the treasures of value (I. 5). It may be inferred from the occurrence of such expressions as *veḷuriya...Mahā-vijaya pāsāda* (I. 10), *veḷuriya-gabha* (I. 15) and *veḷuriya-nīla-vochiṃna* (I. 15), that the precious stones treasured up in Khāravela's royal storehouse belonged to these two classes, viz., (1) the beryl (if *lapis lazuli* is not the correct rendering of *veḷuriya*), and (2) the emerald (*nīla*). Lastly, from the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's fourteenth regnal year, it is evident that the kingdom of Kālīṅga abounded in the best quarries of stone extending over many leagues (*varākara-samuthūpitā aneka-gojana-āhitā silā*, I. 15). We do not know, as yet, where these stone-quarries were to be found, whether in the Tosali division of his Kālīṅga kingdom or elsewhere. It is clearly brought out in the record of Khāravela's fourteenth regnal year that the stone-slabs quarried out of those quarries were best available materials for making stone-pillars, shrines and shrine-posts.

The numerical strength and equipment of the army constitute a good test for determining the status of a king overlord. As to the numerical strength of Khāravela's army, we read in the Hāthi-Gumphā record of his eighth regnal year (I. 9) that His Majesty marched out with a mighty army (*mahati-senā*) enabling him to bring a terrible pressure to bear upon the people of Rājagaha. The second year's record (I. 3) says that the Kālīṅga army of King Khāravela consisted of a multitudinous troop of the horses, the war-elephants, the foot soldiers and the chariots (*haya-gajana-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ*), that is to say, of the traditional four divisions of an Indian army. The fact that King Khāravela was able to undertake, in the very second year of his reign, such a campaign towards the western quarter in defiance of so powerful a rival as King Śātakarṇi, distinctly proves that his fighting army was, more or less, the fighting army of his predecessors, the kings of the Aira-Meghavāhana dynasty.

Senā or army is a general term for denoting the fighting strength of a king. The horse (*haya*), the elephant (*gaja*), the footman (*nara*) and the chariot (*radha*) are the four terms to represent the four divisions of an

army, while *senā* and *vāhana* (troops and conveyance) are the two terms to distinguish the fighting warriors and soldiers from horses, elephants and chariots considered as vehicles and conveyances. We have the use of all these technical terms in Khāravela's inscription.

As to the equipment of Khāravela's army, we find that, in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (I. 16), His Majesty has been represented as *apatihata-caka-vāhana-bala*, a mole of praise, which we have rather wrongly rendered (*ante*, p. 47) as "strong with undaunted carriers of the realm of royal command," suggesting in the footnote that by these carriers were intended to be meant "the ministers and other royal officers." We now detect that such an interpretation as this is not borne out by the expression actually used. *Caka-vāhana* is evidently the same expression as *sena-vāhana*, which occurs in the eighth year's record (I. 9). Can there be any doubt that by *sena-vāhana*, the drafter of the inscription intended to signify the troops and transports? In the Culla-Kālīṅga-Jātaka, King Kālīṅga of Kālīṅga, precisely as Kalimṅgādhipati Khāravela in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, has been described as a warrior who was in a position to march out for conquest with a mighty army (*mahatiyā senāya*), equipped that he was with multitudinous troops and transports (*sampanna-bala-vāhana*). If this reasoning be at all sound, it clearly follows that 'undaunted' or 'invincible' (*apatihata*) was the character of Khāravela's fighting army.

There is nothing distinctly on record to indicate whether, when and how King Khāravela increased the number and fighting equipment of his army. It may be easily inferred, however, from the eighth year's record (I. 9) that the troops and transports with which he attacked the people of Rājagaha did not suffice to withstand the fear of counter-attacks. He must have sufficiently reinforced his fighting army and increased its equipment before he marched out again in the twelfth year to produce consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha, as well as to subdue Bahasatimita, the then reigning king of Magadha (I. 13).

Thus it may be shown that the Kālīṅga army of King Khāravela was sufficiently well-equipped and enormously large. And yet the fact remains that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription does not supply us with the actual figures relating to Khāravela's troops and transports. A tolerably clear idea of the numerical strength of his fighting army may, however, be formed from a few collateral evidences.

We know, for instance, "from the earlier account of Megasthenes (Indika, Frag. I. 6) that the king of the Kālīṅgas was protected by a

standing army, numbering 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 700 war elephants." Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji rightly suggests that "this army must have been considerably expanded by the time of Aśoka when the number of casualties alone is stated to be at least 4 lacs (taking the number of those who ultimately succumbed to the wounds of war to be, say, 3 lacs)."¹

Prof. Mookerji's reference is evidently Aśoka's R. E. XIII containing, as it does, an account of the heavy casualties suffered by the kingdom of Kalinga in the aggressive war waged by the Maurya emperor in the eighth year of his reign. This account goes to prove that the fighting army of Kalinga in Aśoka's time could afford to suffer the losses of 150,000 men as deportees, of 100,000 men as those killed in action, and of "many times as many" men as 'those who died of wounds received in the fight.'²

Here the expression "many times as many" is vague and indefinite, and guilty, no doubt, "of an exaggeration." The following seems to be a reasonable estimate of the fighting army of Kalinga, which has been recently suggested by Prof. Mookerji: "If the number of those (who died of wounds received in the fight) be taken to be at least thrice that of the killed, the total number of casualties would be 4 lacs, and adding to this the number of the deportees, the number of the army that fought on the battle-field would be at least $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs."³

Having regard to the fact that in the case of Aśoka's Kalinga war, the army of Kalinga fought in defence against a foreign invasion, and that in the case of Khāravela's campaigns, the army of Kalinga marched out to produce a marked impression all over India, it may be safely presumed that the total number of the standing army of Kalinga during Khāravela's reign was by far the greater and by no means less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ (or $3\frac{1}{2}$?) lacs. In accordance with Plutarch's statement (Life of Alexander, Ch. XII), "Androkottos (Chandragupta Maurya) was able to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of 600,000." If it was possible

1. Asoka, p. 16.

2. If Aśoka's statement be taken to refer to the casualties suffered by two armies, the army of Kalinga and the army of Magadha (which is not likely), the number of the Kalinga army in Aśoka's time must have been much less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, the number fixed by Radhakumud Mookerji.

3. Asoka, p. 162, f. n. 3. It seems that Aśoka's expression *bahutāvaṃtake* may be interpreted, with reference to the just preceding figure of 1 lac, also as meaning "as many as that (1 lac)," in which case the total will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs ($1\frac{1}{2} + 1 + 1$).

for Chandragupta Maurya to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of 6 lacs, there is no reason why it would be impossible for Khāravela to undertake military campaigns all over India with an army numbering thereabout.

It cannot be supposed that King Khāravela marched out with the whole of the standing army of Kaliṅga without leaving a fraction of it for the defence of his kingdom in his absence. This fraction must be added to the number of the units with which he marched out in order to determine the total number of the standing army of Kaliṅga during his reign. In the case of Chandragupta Maurya, we find that he proceeded to conquer the whole of India with an army of 6 lacs, while the standing Maurya army during his reign consisted of 700,000 men in round numbers, 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants attended by 36,000 men, and 8,000 chariots managed by 24,000 men. It is impossible to think that the total of the standing army of Kaliṅga during Khāravela's reign exceeded 6 lacs.

The idea of militia was not, perhaps, altogether absent. The account given by King Aśoka of his Kaliṅga war tends to create an impression in favour of the opinion that the conquest effected by the Maurya conqueror proved ultimately to be a defeat to the people of Kaliṅga. If the general people of Kaliṅga had not somehow taken part in the battle, there is no reason why King Aśoka would feelingly dwell upon the suffering caused to the civilian population by "violence or slaughter or separation from their loved ones."

In the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's eighth regnal year (I. 9), we read that he effected a timely retreat to Mathurā in order to relieve the troops and transports of his army terrified by the uproar of counter-attacks from the people of Rājagaha. If our interpretation of this particular record be correct, it clearly follows that the citizens of Rājagaha took up arms in defence of their city against a foreign invasion. The twelfth year's record (I. 13) shows that His Majesty's conquest of Aṅga-Magadha was not completed until he was able to force into submission the inhabitants of these two countries (*Aṅga-Magadhavāsinaṃ ca pāde vaṃdāpayati*) after subduing King Bahasatimita. It is evident from many of the records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that in undertaking military campaigns all over India, King Khāravela tried by all possible means to evoke the patriotic sentiments among his subjects, the inhabitants of the kingdom of Kaliṅga in general and the citizens of his capital in particular. The record of his seventh regnal year (I. 8) says that he caused a hundred kinds of pompous

parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, guards and horses, and all ceremonies of victory to be performed. The eighth year's record (I. 9) says that he sumptuously feasted all sections of the people once in Mathurā and subsequently in Kaliṅga, and organised triumphal processions as a means, no doubt, of impressing the idea of victory on the minds of the people. The erection of a new royal palace known by the name of *Mahā-vijaya-pāsāda*, "the Great-victory Palace," the assuming of the self-conferred title *Mahā-vijaya*, "the Great Conqueror," the bringing back by a triumphal procession from Aṅga-Magadha to Kaliṅga of the Kaliṅga Throne of Jina which was carried off by King Nanda as a trophy, the receiving of tributes and valuable presents from the king of Pāṇḍya, as well as from a hundred Vāsukis, the entertaining of the citizens of the capital of Kaliṅga with feasts, festivities and musical performances, the remitting of taxes and duties, the adorning of the capital with new roads, squares, gate-bars and towers—all helped him to keep the people always in excitement, and induce them, as we may say, to join the army to fight for the glory of their country.

It seems that Mr. Jayaswal¹ and Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji² have tried the impossible in endeavouring to infer the total of the population of Kaliṅga from the total number of its standing army. Whether assuming with Goltz that "every 15th soul of the population can take up arms in defence against a foreign invasion," or slightly altering with Prof. Mookerji, the proportion of its fighting strength to its total population from six per cent. to eight per cent. one counts 75 or 60 lacs as a reasonable figure of the population of Kaliṅga in Aśoka's time against the present population of 50 lacs, we must treat it as nothing but an ingenuity without proofs. To infer the total of the population from the total of the standing army of a country, no matter whether it is Kaliṅga or any other land, is to forget that history is neither logic nor mathematics. Anyhow, we may assure Prof. Mookerji that Khāravela's inscription keeps us entirely in the dark about the population of Kaliṅga.

The soundness of administrative policy and method is another test for determining the status of a king overlord. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription bears a clear testimony to the fact that it was a declared policy of King Khāravela to govern his kingdom in accordance with established customs

1. JBORS., Vol. III, Part IV, p. 440.

2. Asoka, p. 162, f. n. 3.

and not departing from the traditional methods of his forefathers. In order that his subjects might have no misgiving on this point, he did not forget to remind them of the fact that whatever he did, he did in consonance with the noble tradition of the former kings of Kaliṅga. For instance, the fourth year's record of his reign (I. 5) says that he governed the Vidyādhara country in accordance with the principle and usage of the former kings of Kaliṅga, everywhere by the highest kind of law (*Vijādharaḍhi-vāsam...Kaliṅga-puvarājānaṃ dhamena va nitinā va pasāsayati savata dhamakūtena*). Similarly in the tenth year's record (I. 11), we read that he caused proper homage and honour to be paid to the memory of the former kings of Kaliṅga, as a public demonstration, no doubt, of his loyalty to the tradition of his royal predecessors (*Kaliṅga-puvarājānaṃ yasa-sakāraṃ kārāpayati*). The eleventh year's record (I. 12) says that he reclaimed and rehabilitated Pṛthudaka, founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, by arranging to drive its grassy jungle into the Lāṅgala river (*Kaliṅga-puvarāja-nivesita-Pithudaga-dabhaṃ Nagale nekāsayati*). In the very opening paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 1), he has been represented as "an increaser of the fame and prosperity of the royal House of King Ceta" (*Cetarājavamśa-vadhana*). The same opening paragraph goes to show that he felt much pride in declaring his connection with the reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga. And the same inference can be drawn from the concluding paragraph (I. 16) where he figures as a king who descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages (*rājisi-vamśa-kula-vinīsita*).

It is clear from the records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that King Khāravela successfully followed all the traditional methods of Indian kings to please his subjects. For instance, the first year's record (I. 2) says that as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year of his reign, he undertook to repair the capital of Kaliṅga, to build up the embankments of the deep and cool tanks and to restore all the gardens, avowedly as a means of pleasing the people, his subjects (*pakatiyo ca raṃjayati*). In the sixth year's record (I. 7), we read that he showed a great favour to the inhabitants of towns and districts by remitting all taxes and duties, which, too was one of the traditional methods of gaining popularity by a king with his subjects. The third year's record (I. 4), goes to show that he tried to entertain the citizens of the capital of Kaliṅga by musical performances and festivities and 'merry gatherings.'

It is equally clear from other records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that King Khāravela spared no pains and left no stones unturned to win the

heart of his subjects by convincing them of the fact that he gave them the full benefit of a good and efficient government, and that he enhanced their happiness by administering justice with an even hand, by increasing the wealth and prosperity of his kingdom, by the maintenance of internal peace and order, by guarding the kingdom well against foreign invasions, by facilitating communication with the capital, and no less by securing for the people a fertile tract of land for agricultural purpose.

The details of Khāravela's administrative machinery are unknown. The Hāthi-Gumphā text records (I. 14) that the royal servants (*rāja-bhatakā*) co-operated with him in excavating caves for the Jain saints and recluses on the Kumārī hill. The reference to the royal servants is to be found also in the record of his eighth regnal year (I. 4). As regards these royal servants, we have mention of a *Nagara-akhadamsa* (Town-judge) in the old Brāhmī inscription (No. IX), of a *Mahāmada* (if it is the same official designation as *Mahāmatta*) in the inscription (No. X), and of a *Pādamulika* (if it is the same official designation as *Rāj-pādamulika* in the Jātakas) in the inscription (No. XIV). We have no information as to whether there were any separate boards and departments, and as to whether any innovations were introduced by King Khāravela in the existing administrative system. Khāravela was evidently too much pre-occupied with the ideas of military campaigns and expansion of dominions to be able to think of administrative changes, and Kaliṅga was too small a kingdom compared with the Maurya empire to require any very elaborate administrative arrangements.

As regards attitude towards the tradition of the former kings, there are some important points of difference between King Khāravela and King Aśoka. As is well-known, King Aśoka has not cared at all to refer to his royal pedigree in his edicts. His reference to his brothers, sisters and relatives (R. E. V) has no bearing upon the question of his ancestry. Even the name of the Maurya royal dynasty to which he belonged does not find mention. In his famous Bhabru Edict, he has simply introduced himself as "the king of Magadha" (*lājā Māgadhe*). In the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen (No. II), Her Majesty has been represented not by her personal name but as the chief queen of Khāravela-siri and the daughter of the high-souled King Lālārka Hastisāha-Hastisimpha (*rājino Lālākasa Hothisāha-sampanātasa dhutā*), while in Aśoka's 'Queen's Edict,' he has issued instructions to his high functionaries to commemorate all the works of benevolence done under the auspices of his second queen by inscriptions recording them as "donations of his second queen

Kāluvākī, the mother of Tīvala" (*Dutiyāye deviye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākīye* [dāne]). Thus the same difference of Aśoka's mental attitude has been clearly brought out in his "Queen's Edict," in his instructions to commemorate his second queen's donations by inscriptions representing her by her personal name and as his second queen and the mother of Prince Tīvala.

In as many as five of his edicts (R. E. IV, R. E. V, R. E. VI, R. E. VII, P. E. VII), King Aśoka has discussed his own position as a ruler with reference and in contrast to that of the former kings "who reigned in the past, during many hundred years." Like all great reformers, Buddha, Christ, and others, he has declared himself with reference to those who had gone before him to the effect that he came rather to fulfil than to destroy the Law. He says (P. E. VII) that he was able to recognize that the underlying motive of the former kings was to see the Law prosper sufficiently among the people, but the means adopted by them was not well-suited to the end. True to this underlying motive or spirit, he proceeded to devise, as a ripe fruit of his own reflections, certain new methods, such as the appointment of *Dharma mahāmātras*, the public proclamations conveying happy royal messages, the formulations of moral principles, the enactment of many legislations, the introduction of quinquennial and triennial tours of official inspection, the arrangements for a prompt despatch of business, the granting of the power of discretion to the high judicial officers, whereby he could see the Law prosper sufficiently among the people. So far as those methods went, he claimed that he had played the most difficult part of a pioneer (*ādīkara*).

On the other hand, King Khāravēla, as he is represented in his inscription, appears to have followed the traditional methods of the former kings of Kālīṅga without exercising any discrimination on his own part. He did not play the rôle of a critic and reformer. He carried out a set programme of royal duties under the prompting of noble instincts and impulses, rather mechanically, without ever realising the need of a conscious adjustment of new methods to changed conditions of a progressive people. Thus in spite of the splendid success attending his administration, the credit must go to the time-honoured tradition which, as one might say, he had the prudence enough not to question.

The ability to foster all religions and to vouchsafe protection and extend patronage to all religious sects and institutions constitutes just another test for determining the status of a king overlord. If the invocation formula of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, *Namo arihantānam, namo*

sara-siddhānam, be indecisive as to whether Jainism was the religious faith of its composer or it was the religious faith of King Khāravela, for whom the text was composed, the contents of the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions clearly prove that Jainism was the religious faith of King Khāravela and other excavators of the caves on the Kumārī hill. For instance, the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen (No. II) records that the cave commemorating her name was made for the sake of the Kālīṅga recluses of Ārhata persuasion (*Arahaṃta-pasādānam Kālīṅgānam samanānam*). Similarly, the thirteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (I. 14) says that 117 caves were built on the Kumārī hill to serve as resting places of the Arhats or Jain saints residing there (*Arahato parini-vāsato hi kāya-nisīdiyāya*).

Buddhism became the state religion of India when King Aśoka embraced it and vigorously espoused its cause. His father and grandfather were supporters of religions other than Buddhism.¹ Even when he espoused its cause, it is difficult to prove that all the members of his royal family favoured Buddhism. If there are Buddhist legends in Pāli as well as in Sanskrit asserting that some of his wives, sons, daughters, brothers and relatives had become Buddhists, there are both inscriptions and legends to prove that some or most of them had not become Buddhists.

On the other hand, the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription goes to prove that Jainism had become the state religion of Kālīṅga even long before the reign of Khāravela. With the royal support at its back, it had become the predominant faith in Kālīṅga. The thirteenth year's record (I. 14) clearly brings out three facts of importance in this connection: (1) that when King Nanda had conquered Kālīṅga, he carried off the throne of Jina belonging to Kālīṅga as the highest trophy (*Naṃdarāja-nīta Kālīṅga-Jināsana*): (2) that King Khāravela signalled his conquest of Aṅga-Magadha by bringing back that Throne of Jina to Kālīṅga by a triumphal procession; and (3) that King Khāravela professed Jainism in common with his queens, sons, brothers, relatives and royal servants. One cannot mistake that, somehow or other, the affection and honour of the royal family, as well as of the people of Kālīṅga, became bound up with that Jina-throne.

1. Regarding Bindusāra, Aśoka's father, Buddhaghosa in his *Samanta-Pāsādikā* (Oldenberg's *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Vol. III, pp. 390-301), says: *Bindusāro brāhmaṇa-bhātto ahoṣi : so brāhmaṇānaṃ ca brāhmaṇajātiyapāsāṇḍānaṃ ca paṇḍaraṅga-paribbājakādānaṃ (paṇḍaraṅgaparibbājaka-Ājivika-Nigaṇṭhādānaṃ) nicca-bhattaṃ paṭṭhapesi*.

This is not to say there were no other religions and religious shrines in Kālīṅga. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription clearly proves that there were other religions and religious edifices. If the remaining religions, including the different forms of animism, be designated in the lump as Hinduism, one can say that during the reign of King Khāravela, as also during the reign of his predecessors, Hinduism flourished side by side with Jainism, and the Hindu temples dedicated to various deities shone forth along with the cave dwellings of the Jain saints and recluses.

The royal epithet *sava-pāsamḍa-pūjaka* occurring in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 16), attests, beyond doubt, that King Khāravela of Kālīṅga unknowingly followed in the footsteps of King Devānampiya Piyadasi Asoka of Magadha in declaring himself as a ruler "who honoured all denominations." There would have been no necessity for the use of such an epithet, if there were no adherents among the people of Kālīṅga of different denominations. King Aśoka in his R. E. XIII, definitely says, while speaking of the spread of Aryan religions in India in his time, that there was no other place but the Yona-region, where the sects of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas were not, nor was there any other place where the people had not adhered in faith to one or the other of those sects.

Similarly, there would have been no necessity for the use of the epithet *sava-devāyatana-samkāra-kāraka*, "the repairer of all temples of the deities", if there were no worshippers among the people of Kālīṅga of those deities at the temples dedicated to them. The second epithet representing Khāravela not as a builder, but only as a repairer of those temples, goes rather to show that those places of worship had existed from an earlier time. What those temples could be and where they were actually to be found, unfortunately, the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription does not clearly specify. And no Hindu temples have as yet been discovered with inscriptions or tablets recording that they were caused to be repaired by King Khāravela.

Who could the recognised representatives of the different religious denominations be is also a question at issue. Fortunately, the answer is not far to seek. For the fourteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (I. 15) says that apart from 117 caves excavated on the Kumārī hill for the residence of the Jain saints and recluses, King Khāravela constructed a separate cave for the accommodation of the honoured recluses of established reputation (*śakata-samaṇa-suvihitā*), as well as for the accommodation of the *yatis*, hermits and sages hailing from a hundred directions

(*satadīśānaṃ yatināṃ tāpasa-isiṇāṃ leṇaṃ kārāyati*). Here the *yatis*, hermits and sages must be taken as representatives of the fourth and third Brahmanical stages of effort (*āśramas*), that is to say, of the orders of Brahmanical ascetics. It is somewhat difficult to decide whom the king actually meant by referring to them as *sakata-samaṇa-suvihitā*, "the honoured recluses of established reputation."

Mr. Jayaswal contends for the reading *sukata-samaṇa-suvihitā*, taking *sukata* to be the same word as *sukṛta*, "virtuous." *Kata-samaṇa* occurs indeed in the Upāli-Sutta, Majjhima-Nikāya, as a Jaina mode of praise applicable to a recognized recluse teacher. Buddhaghoṣa explains it as meaning "a recluse who has fulfilled the aims of recluse life."¹ Taking *sukata* to be the correct reading, it is easy to tend to equate it with *Sugata*, which is a well-known epithet of the Buddha. But it would be risky enough, in the absence of clear evidences, to suggest that the Buddhist teachers gained a foothold in Kāliṅga either during the reign of Khāravela or before.² We have reasons to think that by *sakata-samaṇa-suvihitā* or *sukata-samaṇa-suvihitā* the composer of Khāravela's inscription rather kept in his view the Jain recluses who, as occasional visitors, had to be distinguished from those who permanently resided on the Kumārī hill. Anyhow, the thirteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (I. 14) says that 117 caves on the Kumārī hill were excavated to serve as resting places of the Jain saints who resided there (*Kumārī-paṭṭe arahato parinirāsato hi kāya-nisīdiyāya*). In the edicts of King Aśoka, notably in his P. E. VII, the Jains (*Nigaṇṭhā*), the Ājīvikas and the Buddhists (*Samghathā*) have been mentioned as typical representatives of the orders of the recluses as distinguished from those of the Brahmanical ascetics, while in Khāravela's inscription, the *yatis*, *tāpasas* and *isis* are mentioned as representatives of the Brahmanical orders, and, as regards the representatives of the *śramaṇas*, the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas are passed over in silence. The eighth year's record of Khāravela's reign (I. 9) says that His Majesty feasted all the inhabitants (*gharavāsī*), all the royal servants (*rājabhataḥkā*), all the householders (*gahapatayo*), all the Brahmins (*brahmanā*), as well as the Jain recluses (*arahata-samaṇā*) once in Mathurā and subsequently in Kāliṅga. It will be noticed that in the above enumeration, the royal servants have been

1. Papañca-ūdanī, Siamese ed., Part III, pp. 92-93; *kata-samaṇassāti kata-sāmaññassa, samaṇa-dhammassa matthakampattassa*.

2. Barua's 'Religious Policy of Aśoka' in the Mahā-Bodhi Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 11, pp. 549-550.

distinguished from the general population (*gharavāsī*), in the same way that the Brahmins and the Jain recluses have been distinguished from those who kept to household life (*gahapatayo*). Here the Jain recluses have been specially mentioned as representatives of the *śramaṇas*, while the Buddhists and the Ajivikas have found no recognition. Seeing that the same sort of statement occurs in the Hāthi-Gumphā record (I. 9) with regard to feasting in Mathurā and to that in Kaliṅga, we may be led to think that even Mathurā proved to be up till the reign of Khāravela an impenetrable region for Buddhism, although this faith was destined to thrive there together with Jainism during the reign of the Kuṣāṇa kings.

It is quite clear, we think, from the foregoing discussion that King Khāravela was a Jain from his very birth. King Aśoka was not born in a Buddhist family. It can be established by the evidence of his own inscriptions and Buddhist legends that he was converted to Buddhism, his conversion itself being a gradual process of mental change,¹ and that he possessed and displayed all the zeal of a new convert. Khāravela does not appear to have taken religion so seriously as Aśoka.

If Khāravela was a Jain, what sort of Jain was he? The education which he received was purely secular and did not differ from that received by other Indian princes. His coronation ceremony was celebrated, as may be easily imagined, in accordance with Brahmanical rites. The principles and methods which he adopted in governing his kingdom were precisely those prescribed in the Brahmanical treatises on Hindu royal polity. Jainism did not compel him to exercise any scruples in undertaking military expeditions and aggressive wars for territorial expansion and world domination. The patriotic spirit which underlay all his activities was not inspired by Jainism. As for Jainism, he caused a large number of caves to be constructed on the Kumārī hill to provide the resident Jain saints and recluses with resting places, and erected ornamented stone-pillars, shrines and pillared halls on a slope of the same hill. As for Hinduism, he made donations for repairing the temples dedicated to various gods and goddesses, and feasted alike the Brahmin ascetics and Jain recluses. Is it not to be inferred from all these that so far as this world was concerned he was a Hindu, and that so far as the other world was concerned, he was a pious Jain?

1. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Asoka*, pp. 109-112, f. n. 8.

Khāravela differed indeed from **Aśoka** in beating the drum of victory by sword (*bherighosa*) rather than in proclaiming the glory of conquest by **Dhamma**, the higher and higher ideal of progressive humanity. He was proud to give out to the world that he excelled in his knowledge of the science of music (*Gaṃdhava-veda-budha*) rather than in that of the deeper truths that Jainism had to teach. He caused to be organized a pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, guards and horses, in short, of emblems of royalty (*kakudhas*). He differed from **Aśoka** also in his endeavour to entertain the citizens of his capital even by pandering to their taste, by *dampa-dapa*, by dances, songs and instrumental music, and by festivities and merry gatherings (*dampa-nata-gīta-vāḍita-saṃdasaṇāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi*). If *danpa* be the correct reading, it is, without doubt, the same word as *darpa*, which is mentioned in the *Artha-Śāstra*¹ as a sport and pastime (*krīḍā*) along with *madya-krīḍā*. The *Artha-Śāstra* prescribes a fine of three *paṇas* for the ladies of good society going to witness these two sports and pastimes. There must have been something inherently wrong in them for which the *Artha-Śāstra* found it necessary to prevent the ladies of good society under penal laws from witnessing them.

The word *madya* ("spirituous liquor") suggests that in the sport and pastime bearing its name, there was a good deal of drunkenness, a good deal of licentiousness, a good deal of intemperance, a good deal of midnight revelry. The exact significance of *dampa* or *darpa-krīḍā* is unknown. *Bhaṭṭasvāmi*'s commentary on the *Artha-Śāstra* does not throw any fresh light. It may be a general name for a number of sports and pastimes in which challenging, boasting, competing and bettings play an important part. The name *dampa* or *darpa* seems to convey the idea of combating such as in wrestling, boxing, mock-fighting and gladiatorial feats. Anyhow, there must have been in this kind of sport and pastime a good deal of excitement, a good deal of noise and tension, for which the ladies of good society were prevented from witnessing it.

If *dapa* be the correct reading, it is, without doubt, the same term as *davakamma*, which is mentioned in the *Mahā-Niddesa* (p. 379) as an example of *vācasikā kkhīḍā* along with *nāṭika* (dramatic acting), *gīta* (singing) and *lūsa* (dancing by women) precisely in the same way that in the *Artha-Śāstra* *darpa* and *madya-krīḍā* are mentioned along with *prekṣā*

1. *Artha-Śāstra*, III. 3.58 : *Pratīḍdhā-strī darpa-madya-krīḍāyāṃ tripaṇam daṇḍam dadyāt.*

(dramatic performances, operas). The commentary explains *davakamma* in the sense of 'comics' (*hāsa-karaṇa-kīlā*).

Whatever be the correct reading of the word, it is certain that Khāravela did not refrain from pleasing the citizens of his capital by 'combats' or 'comics,' and by dancing, singing and instrumental music, which were against the doctrine of Jainism. There is no evidence to prove that he exercised discrimination, like Aśoka, in selecting and encouraging only those 'samājas'¹ or 'joyous gatherings' which were approved ways of educating the people even through amusements and festivities.

It is true that Khāravela, too, honoured all denominations, which is to say, that he, too, observed the principle of religious toleration. But his idea of religious toleration was essentially of a Hindu nature. In his case, just as in the case of a Hindu, toleration implied the idea of non-interference, non-intervention, not meddling in another man's religion. He found it to be a wise policy on his part to leave each sect to follow its own creed without taking the trouble of considering the details of each faith. He does not appear to have made an attempt to bring all sects on a common platform for a free and frank discussion, and an interchange of ideas for discovering the common ground and mission of all religions, as well as for determining the merits and defects of each religion. Aśoka and Akbar had their own ideas and programmes of religion. But Khāravela had no such ideas and programmes. How Aśoka's idea of religious toleration differed from that of Khāravela will be manifest from Aśoka's R. E. XII, the relevant portion of which is quoted below :

" His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king is honouring all sects, both ascetics and house-holders ; by gifts and offerings of various kinds is he honouring them. But His Sacred Majesty does not value such gifts or honours as that how should there be the growth of the essential elements of all religious sects. The growth of this genuine matter is, however, of many kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech, that is, there should not be honour of one's own sect and condemnation of others' sects *without any ground*. Such slighting should be for specified grounds only. On the other hand, the sects of others should be honoured for this ground and that; concord alone is commendable in this sense that all should listen and be willing to listen to the doctrines professed by others. This is, in fact, the desire of His Sacred Majesty, viz., that all sects should be possessed of wide learning and good doctrines."

1. For the meaning of this term, see Radha Kumud Mookerji's "Asoka," p. 129, f. n. 1.

13. SOME POINTS CONCERNING PERSONAL HISTORY

Our rendering of *Aira* as “ Lordly ” requires a word of explanation. The first letter as it appears on the stone or in the estampages cannot but be read as *ai*. The correctness of such a reading is confirmed, no doubt, by the Sanskrit *śloka*s quoted by Mr. Jayaswal from an old Oṛiyā MS. But one must not lose sight of the fact that in these *śloka*s, *Ahira* has been used as an alternative spelling. We have, moreover, sought to show that a similar letter occurring in the two Pabhosā inscriptions of Āśāḍhasena has been read by Dr. Vogel as *va*, the letter serving as the initial of the personal name *Vaihidari*. Should *Aira* be read on this ground as *Vera*, we have mentioned that there is no other alternative but rendering it “ Hero ” or “ Heroic,” *vera* being the same word as *vīra*. Even if we adhere to the reading *Aira*, we do not quite understand why it should be interpreted as signifying “ a descendant of *Ila*.” Rather keeping the two alternative spellings *Aira* and *Ahira* in the Sanskrit *śloka*s from the old Oṛiyā MS. in view, we have to think of a royal title, which can account for both of them. Such a royal title is undoubtedly *Ayira* which has been explained in the Jātaka-Commentary as meaning *sāmi*, “ master ” or “ lord,” “ a master as distinguished from a slave,” that is to say, “ an Ārya, whose condition, according to the Artha-Śāstra, is not servitude.”¹ We still feel that Mr. Jayaswal’s first note on *Aira* (JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 434) is something to the point : “ The first word of the royal style is *Aira*. This word occurs in a Sātavāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Senart as ‘ noble ’ (*Ārya*). I am inclined to take it as indicating the ethnic difference of Khāravela from his subjects (who were mostly Dravidians, or the mixed Aryo-Dravidians, for according to the Nāṭya-Śāstra, the people of Kaliṅga were dark but not black).”

The personal names occurring in our old Brāhmī inscriptions have an importance of their own. We find that most of them are obviously Aryan names, viz., *Kamma*, *Cūlakamma*, *Kusuma*, *Nākiya* (*Nāgita*), *Hathisāha*, *Hathisāha* and *Khīṇā* (misread *Halakhīṇā-Ślakṣṇā*). *Vaḍukha* or *Varikha*, too, appears to be an Aryan name, *Vaḍukha* being a Prākṛit equivalent of *Vaḍavākṣa*, and *Varikha* that of *Varekṣa*. As regards *Kadampa* or *Kudepa* (misread *Vakadepa* by Dr. Indraji, and *Kuḍepa* by Mr. Banerji),

1. Barhut Inscriptions edited by Barua and Sinha, *sub voce* “ *Aya*.”

we are inclined to think in the same way. *Kadampa* may be equated either with *Kadamba* or with *Kandarpa*. *Kudepa* as an alternative reading may be treated as an equivalent of *Kudeva* (the "Lord of the Earth").

Mr. Jayaswal explains the name *Khāravēla* as meaning "the Ocean" (*lit.* "one whose waves are brackish").¹ Prof. S. K. Chatterji prefers to explain it in the sense of *Kāḍa-vilva*, "the Black-lancer," *kāḍa* being the same word as the Sk. *kr̥ṣṇa*, meaning "black." *Kāḷavela* occurs in the *Mahāvamsa*² as the name of a *Yakkha*, and in the *Jātaka-Commentary* as the name of a village in Ceylon, the spelling in the latter case being *Kāḷavela*.³ The word *kālavēla* is met with in the *Mahāniddeśa* where it is explained in the sense of "one who speaks words befitting the time."⁴

We can quite see that *khāra* is the same word as *kūla* or *kr̥ṣṇa*, and *vela* is an equivalent of *vilva*, cf. *Uruvela-Uruvilva*. Whatever the sense in which the name is interpreted, *Khāravēla* may be equated with *Kr̥ṣṇa-vilva*. But, as suggested in the *Mahāniddeśa*, *vela* of *Khāravēla* may have been derived from *velā* meaning "the shore" or "the wave breaking upon the shore." If so, *Khāravēla* must be equated with *Kr̥ṣṇavela* meaning "the Sea," "the Ocean" (*lit.*, "that which is girt by watery black shores"). Kālidāsa's famous description of the sea or ocean may serve, it is hoped, to clear up this meaning of *Khāravēla* or *Kr̥ṣṇavela*:

Dūrādasyaścakraṇibhasya tanvi
tamāla-tāli-vanarāji-nīlā |
Ābhāti velā lavaṇāmvrāśer
dhārāṇibaddheva kalaṅka-rekhā ⁵ ||

1. JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 434.

2. *Mahāvamsa*, IX-23.

3. Fausbøll's *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 30 : *Kāḷavelavāsī*.

4. *Mahāniddeśa*, p. 504 : *Katamā kālavēla? Kālāṭikkantaṃ vācam na bhāseyya kālaṇi asampattaṃ vācam na bhāseyya*.

5. *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIII. *Velā tīrabhūmiḥ dhārāṇibaddhā cakrāśritā kalaṅkarekhā mālīnyarekhā iva ābhāti* (Mallinātha). "*Velā syāt tīranīrayoḥ* " *iti Viśvaḥ*.

14. KHĀRAVELA'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Khāravēla is one of the most striking figures in the annals of Indian kings. Although he cannot claim the proud position enjoyed by an Aśoka or an Akbar as a world-figure, even as a provincial figure, he represents a remarkable and charming personality. He maintained the noble tradition of Aśoka as a successful builder of such sacred and artistic monuments as rock-cut caves, stone-pillars, shrines and ornamented shrine-posts, as a ruler who honoured and favoured all religious sects, and no less as a king who did his level best to work and strain all his resources for the good and happiness, or as is put in his inscription, for the pleasing of the people, his subjects, while he became, by his warrior-like spirit, valour and victory, the worthy precursor of Samudragupta. As an expert in the science of music (*Gandhava-veda-budha*) and a patron of fine arts, too, he played well the rôle of a precursor of the imperial Gupta monarchs. From the chronological point of view, too, he stood just midway between Aśoka, on one side, and Samudragupta, on the other. In respect of its style and contents, his inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā, too, must be accorded a similar intermediate position between the notable inscriptions of Aśoka and the Allahabad pillar inscription of the lion-like Samudragupta. But unique is his position in Indian history as an unsurpassed patriotic king of Kālīṅga, just in the same way that unique is his inscription of seventeen lines on the hanging brow of the Hāthi-Gumphā roof in its presentation of systematic records of his successive regnal years. King Aśoka followed, as shown elsewhere,¹ a quinquennial system in issuing his edicts and in all of his other undertakings from his twelfth regnal year onwards. So far as the edicts of Aśoka go, these are far from presenting a systematic record of the events of his successive regnal years except, as one might say, with regard to the release of prisoners from the imperial jail (P.E. V). But, nevertheless, the chronological system of presentation followed in Khāravēla's inscription goes to connect it historically with the edicts of the Maurya emperor rather than with the inscriptions of the Gupta emperors. It is the Jains and Buddhists who dated their votive offerings in the term of the successive years of the reign of the Kuṣāṇa kings, precisely in the same way that in

1. Barua's Aśoka Edicts in New Light, pp. 63-66.

the subsequent phase of Indian History the universal custom became to date all public and private records and works in the term of an era known as the Śaka-era.

Khāravela was the greatest known king among the monarchs of the Meghavāhana or Aira-mahāmeghavāhana dynasty who exercised their suzerainty over the kingdom of Kaliṅga, nay, among all the monarchs who reigned in Kaliṅga before King Aśoka and after the Meghavāhana kings. The memory of his predecessors in the Meghavāhana line would have been completely obliterated from the pages of history but for allusions to them in his inscription as his predecessors.

With regard to the part played by his predecessors in the Meghavāhana line, it may be clearly inferred from certain statements in his inscription that since the first king of this line succeeded in freeing the kingdom of Kaliṅga from the yoke of a foreign rule, they successfully maintained its independence till they safely handed it on to him in the third generation of two kings (*tatiye purisa-yuge*). If our reading *āhatapura* in the sense of *āhṛtpūrva*, "previously annexed," be accepted as correct, the Hāthi-Gumphā record of his fourth regnal year (I. 5) may be so interpreted as to imply that the Vidyādhara-country was already annexed to the kingdom of Kaliṅga by some one of his predecessors, while the task that was left to him was just to consolidate the Meghavāhana rule over it. In the absence of any clear record in his inscription as to his conquest of Pāṇḍya kingdom, the record of his twelfth regnal year stating that the king of Pāṇḍya supplied him with pearls, gems, jewels and rich apparels cannot be accounted for without some such supposition that either the king of Pāṇḍya was an old ally of the Meghavāhana kings or the king of Pāṇḍya was compelled to acknowledge his supremacy, even as an ally, in fear of the consequences of an invasion contemplated by him. Further, he could not have used Mathurā as a military base of his attacks on Uttarāpatha, on one hand, and on Aṅga-Magadha, on the other, as it appears from the records of his eighth and twelfth regnal years (I. 9, I. 13) that he did so, if either he himself had not conquered it or it had not been an old dependency of the kingdom of Kaliṅga.

It is very clear from the record of his first regnal year (I. 2) that the city of Kaliṅga with its gates, walls, residential houses, deep and cool tanks and all kinds of gardens was used as the capital of the Kaliṅga kingdom also by his predecessors. If Dantapura-Paloura was the most ancient known capital of Kaliṅga, and no evidence be forthcoming as to the city of Kaliṅga being used as the capital by any pre-Meghavāhana

kings, some one among his Meghavāhana predecessors must be credited with the building of this as the capital city.

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription contains the following two significant statements indicating under whose sway the kingdom of Kālīṅga had remained before the Meghavāhana kings rose into power: (1) *Pañcame cēdānī vase Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghātitaṃ Tanasuliya-vātū pañādīṃ nagaram pavesayati*, "And then in the fifth year, King Khāravela caused the canal opened out by King Nanda 103 (or 300) years ago to be extended into the capital city;" and (2) *Bārasame ca vase.....Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ Kālīṅga-Jināsanaṃ (Aṅga-magadhato) Kālīṅgaṃ āneti*, "And in the twelfth year, he caused the throne of Jina belonging to Kālīṅga which was carried off by King Nanda to be brought back (from Aṅga-Magadha) to Kālīṅga."

To us the two statements are important as indicating (1) that some king associated with Aṅga-Magadha and known as Naudarāja had invaded and conquered Kālīṅga before the Meghavāhana kings established their sovereignty over it; and (2) that that Nandarāja opened out a canal or aqueduct near the Tanasuliya, Tanasuli or Tosali road while the kingdom of Kālīṅga was under his sway.

Now, the Sanskrit *ślokas* from the Old Oṛiyā MS. tell us that King Aira or Ahira of Utkala proved to be the victor in a battle, which ensued between him, on one side, and King Nanda of Magadha, on the other. These represent King Nanda, as we saw, as a staunch supporter and King Aira-Ahira as a ruthless destroyer of the Vedic religion or Brahmanism. As a destroyer of the Vedic religion, King Aira-Ahira is said to have been a great friend (*mahāmītra*) of King Aśoka. The *ślokas* credit King Aira-Ahira with the transfer of the capital of Utkala from the main city in South Kośala to the Ekaprastara-tract around the hill of Khanlagiri. Thus Utkala itself is described as a kingdom, which extended so far as to include in it Kośala and Tośala, forming two main divisions of Khāravela's kingdom of Kālīṅga. And if we are to believe the story of the Sanskrit *ślokas*, it is from the hands of King Nanda of Magadha that King Aira-Ahira of Utkala freed the kingdom and people of Kālīṅga. All these may be true, but until we have the opportunity of examining the nature and credibility of the original source of information, it is likely to be injudicious to attach undue importance to them.

It is too late in the day of Indian historical research to attach any importance whatever to the opinion of Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra assigning Khāravela to the 4th century B. C. and claiming him, *à fortiori*, to

be a pre-Aśokan king. It is impossible to regard Khāravela as a pre-Aśokan king in the face of these two facts : (1) that his inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā distinctly represents him as a contemporary and rival of Śātakarṇi, whose territories lay contiguous to the western border of his Kālīṅga kingdom (I. 3), and (2) that whatever the actual date and identification of this Śātakarṇi, he was undoubtedly one of the Andhrabhṛtya Sātavāhana kings who rose into power on the decline of the power of the earlier Andhra kings and years after the reign of King Aśoka. It is equally impossible to regard Khāravela as a pre-Aśokan and not as a post-Aśokan king in view of the fact that his inscription distinctly alludes to Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) as a contemporary king of Magadha, subdued by him in the twelfth year of his reign, while there is neither tradition nor inscriptional evidence as to Bahasatimita's rule in Magadha before or immediately after Aśoka's reign.

If our interpretation of the two expressions, *tatiya-purisa-yuga* and *tatiya-yugasagārasāna*, be correct, Khāravela was unquestionably the sixth king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family with whose accession to the throne of Kālīṅga the third couple of its two successive representative men was completed, and with whose father's death, the reign of the third couple of kings was at an end, and his son and successor Kadampa-Kudepa came, as the seventh king, to be joined with him. The records of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription take us as far as the fourteenth year of his reign and, by no means, beyond it, and there are neither inscriptions nor traditions to inform us who among the Mahāmeghavāhana kings and how many kings of the Mahāmeghavāhana family reigned in Kālīṅga as successors of Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa, when actually the reign of Khāravela came to an end, or what befell the Mahāmeghavāhanas after Khāravela's death.

Looking back, we find that Khāravela remained an ordinary prince for fifteen and a crown-prince for nine years, which is to say, the tenor of his life as a prince and crown-prince covered full twenty-four years of the reign of the Mahāmeghavāhana kings. From the foundation of the rule of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty right up to the accession of Khāravela we have to conceive the successive reign of (1) the first couple, (2) the first couple and a half, (3) the second couple, and (4) the second couple and a half. Even allowing twenty years as the average period of each reign, we do not get more than eighty years to represent the total length of the reign of Khāravela's predecessors in the Mahāmeghavāhana line.

It is very likely, as suggested by Mr. Jayaswal, that 'Megha' in the Purāṇas is but a shortening from 'Meghavāhana' or 'Mahāmeghavāhana,' which is the high-sounding epithet whereby Khāravela and other kings of the same royal family were designated. The traditions in the Purāṇas unanimously assert that among the different Indian kings who reigned in various parts of India as contemporaries of the Andhra or Andhrabhṛtya-Sātavāhana rulers were the kings who reigned in Kośala or South Kośala, who were just nine in number, very powerful, intelligent and well-known as 'Meghas.'¹ And it is expressly stated in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa that seven Kośala kings of the Megha-Meghavāhana dynasty and seven Andhra-Andhrabhṛtya-Sātavāhana kings reigned as contemporaries.²

Thus the traditions in the Purāṇas lead us to understand that altogether nine kings of the Megha-Meghavāhana family reigned in South Kośala, which, as we have sought to show, formed one of the three principal divisions of Khāravela's Kalinga kingdom. And if it can be elicited from the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions that Khāravela reigned as the sixth king and Kadampa-Kudepa as the seventh king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family, we can say that just two other kings of this family reigned after their death, which is to say, the rule of this family came to an end within thirty or forty years of Khāravela's death.

The determination of the age of Khāravela depends, to a large extent, on a satisfactory identification of King Nanda, Sātakaṇi and King Bahasatimita of Magadha, all of whom find mention in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription. As to the identification of King Nanda, this inscription furnishes us with a key in the two facts stated by it: (1) that a canal or aqueduct was opened out near the Tanasuliya, Tanasuli or Tosali road by him 103 or 300 years ago, the years being counted back from the fifth year of Khāravela's reign (*paṃcame cēdāni vase Naṃdarāja-tivasasatoghātita-panāḍiṃ tanasuliya-vātā*); and (2) that the Kalinga throne of Jina, carried off by him (*Naṃdarāja-nita Kāliṅga-Jināsana*) was brought back from Aṅga-Magadha to Kalinga by King Khāravela by a triumphal procession. Here ambiguity arises from the possibility of two alternative explanations of the compound *ti-vasa-sata* as meaning either 103 or 300

1. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51:

Kośalāyāṃ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ |

'Meghā' iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaira tu ||

2. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51, f. n. 16; *Eka kālāḥ ime bhūpāḥ sapta Āndhrāḥ sapta Kauśalāḥ*.

years. Admitting both the alternatives to be equally possible, we have to look out for a King Nanda of Magadha who conquered Kalinga, carried away the Kalinga throne of Jina as a trophy and opened out a canal in the Tosali division and not far away from the city of Kalinga, either 98 (103—5) or 295 (300—5) years before Khāravela's accession.

The only key to the identification of Sātakaṇi furnished in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is that he held territories contiguous to the western border of Khāravela's kingdom of Kalinga, comprising, as it did, South Kośala as one of its three main divisions. The tradition in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa leads us to think that the first seven Meghavāhana and the first seven Sātavāhana kings reigned as contemporaries, in which case if Khāravela was the sixth Meghavāhana king, Sātakaṇi must have been the sixth Sātavāhana ruler. It remains to be seen whether the tradition in the Purāṇa can be so rigorously interpreted as to mean that the first king of one dynasty was a contemporary of the first king of the other, the second of the second, and so on.

Regarding Bahasatimita our information from the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription is that he is the king of Magadha whom King Khāravela subdued in the twelfth year of his reign. In Yaśamitā's Brick-tablet inscription, found in Mathurā, Queen Yaśamitā is described as the daughter of Brhāsvātimita, the royal personage whose name is taken by Dr. Vogel to be the same as Bahasatimita or Brhaspatimitra. In one of the two Pabhosā inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena, King Āṣāḍhasena, the king of Adhichatrā, is represented as the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of King Bahasatimita. The same Pabhosā inscription records the construction of a cave in the tenth year of Udāka whom Mr. Jayaswal identifies with Odraka, Odruka or Ādraka, mentioned in the Purāṇas as the fifth king of the Śuṅga dynasty, suggesting that King Āṣāḍhasena of Adhichatrā was feudatory to the Śuṅga kings of Magadha. A coin, too, has been found with a Brāhmī legend recording the name of Bahasatimita. The legend in the Divyāvadāna speaks of a Brhaspati as a Maurya king among the successors of Samprati, the grandson of King Aśoka. It remains to be seen whether King Bahasatimita, mentioned as a contemporary of King Khāravela, is the same personality as Bahasatimita of the coin, King Bahasatimita of the Pabhosā inscription, Brhāsvātimita of Yaśamitā's Brick-tablet, and Brhaspati of the Divyāvadāna, or he is a king of any neo-Mitra dynasty, which came possibly into existence sometime after the Kāṇvas.

The data of chronology which may be collected thus from the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription and other sources are insufficient to determine

undisputably the date of Khāravela. In the present state of our knowledge, we can do no better than stating the three views put forward by three eminent Indian scholars, drawing the reader's attention to certain strong and weak points in the assumptions and arguments of each of them.

First Mr. Jayaswal's latest publication on the subject¹ assigns Khāravela's accession to 182 B. C., taking him to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Sunga-Mitra dynasty, whose accession is placed in 188 B. C. The validity of this view is claimed primarily on the soundness of identification of Bahasatimita or Bṛhaspatimitra, mentioned in the Hāthi-Gumphā text as a contemporary Magadhan king whom Khāravela subdued in the twelfth year of his reign, chiefly on the ground that Bahasati or Bṛhaspati finds mention in the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra (I. 26. 6) as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation of stars.² King Bahasatimita or Bṛhaspatimitra is sought to be connected with the Sunga-Mitra kings of Magadha by the argument that a king of this very name figures in a Pabhosā inscription as the nephew of King Āṣāḍhasena of Adhichatrā (in North Pañcāla), while the main text of this inscription records the excavation of a cave by Āṣāḍhasena for the Kāśyapiya Arhats in the tenth year of Udāka (Odraka, Odruka or Ādraka³) who happens to be counted in the Purāṇas as the fifth king of the Sunga-Mitra dynasty.⁴ The reign of a king known by the name of Bṛhaspati among the successors of King Aśoka and of his grandson Samprati can be inferred as well from a legendary list in the Divyāvadāna.⁵ The reign of a king known by the name of Bṛhaspatimitra towards the end of the Maurya rule can be inferred equally from Yaśamitā's Brick-tablet, in which Queen Yaśamitā (of Mathurā?) is described as the daughter of Brhāsvātimita, a name that can be equated either with Bṛhaspatimitra or with Brhatsvātimitra, the Brāhmī letter-forms of this record appearing to be in their essential features still Mauryan.⁶ The coin-name Bahasatimita for Puṣyamitra is explained by the fact, that in other Sunga-Mitra and Sungabhṛtya-Kāṇva coins, the names of some of the Sunga and Kāṇva kings agree with and differ from those in the Purāṇas :—

1. JBORS, Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, pp. 236-245.

2. JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 477-478.

3. The Jaina commentator Śīlāṅka equates Udāka with Ādraka. See Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras, Part II, p. 417.

4. Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31; JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 474.

5. JBORS, Vol. I, p. 96.

6. EI, Vol. II, pp. 242-243.

Coin-name.	Purāṇa-name.
<i>Agnimitra</i>	<i>Agnimitra.</i>
<i>Bhānumitra</i>	<i>Vasumitra.</i>
<i>Jethamitra</i>	{ <i>Vasujyēṣṭha.</i> <i>Sujyēṣṭha.</i>
Ghoṣa } Bhadrāghoṣa } Indramitra }	{ Ghōṣa. Ghōṣavasū. Vajramitra.
Devamitra	Devabhūti.
Bhūmimitra	Bhūmimitra. ¹

The objection arising from the Hāthi-Gumphā statement *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghātitaṃ Tanasuliya-vātū paṇāḍiṃ nagaraṃ pavesayati* which must be ordinarily rendered as “He (King Khāravela) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda 103 (or 300) years ago to be extended from the Tanasuliya or Tanasuli road into the city (of Kaliṅga)” is sought to be met by the argument that here the expression *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghātita* should be taken to mean “opened out in 300 Nanda-era (the era founded by King Nandavardhana,² the grandfather of Mahāpadma Nanda, in 485 B. C.).”³ The existence of such an era is sought to be proved by the fact that Alberuni, writing his *Indika* in 1030 A. D., ‘found this era in actual use in Mathurā and Kanauj,’ and ‘heard the local tradition that the founder of the era lightened the taxes by obtaining wealth from the under-soil (which reminds us of the story of the buried treasures of the Nandas).’⁴ The same is sought to be proved also by the evidence of the Yedarava inscription of the Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI, stating: “Having said, why should the glory of the Kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer? he with a loud command abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chalukya counting” (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 437).⁵

In accordance with Mr. Jayaswal’s chronological interpretation of the fact of Khāravela’s ‘marching against the west disregarding Śātakarṇi’ one must identify ‘Khāravela’s Śātakarṇi’ with Śātakarṇi I, who is no other than Śrī-Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇas as the third king of the Andhrabhṛtya-Sātavāhana dynasty founded by Simuka, the father of

1. JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 479.

2. JBORS, Vol. I, pp. 78, 106.

3. JBORS, Vol. III, Parts III-IV, p. 240.

4. JBORS, Vol. III, Parts III-IV, p. 240.

5. JBORS, Vol. III, Parts III-IV, p. 238.

Srī-Sātakarṇi, and Sātakarṇi mentioned as the Lord of the Deccan (*Dakṣi-nāpatha-pati*) in the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Queen Nāyanikā, the daughter-in-law of Simuka. Further, one must assign this Sātakarṇi's accession to 172 B. C., placing the foundation of the Sātavāhana dynasty in 203 B. C., on the strength of the expert opinion of Dr. Bühler who found Nāyanikā's Nānāghāt Cave inscription to be, on palaeographic grounds, slightly older than Khāravela's inscription in the Hāthi-Gumphā.¹

Our difficulty in accepting his interpretation of *Naṃdarāja* of the expression *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭita* in the sense of "Nanda-era" is that the same construction cannot be applied to *Naṃdarāja* in *Naṃdarāja-nīta Kālīṅga-Jināsana*, which, too, is an expression in the Hāthi-Gumphā text and must be rendered as "the Kālīṅga throne of Jina carried away by King Nanda." We cannot appreciate the presumption in the Cambridge History of India suggesting even the possibility of *Naṃdarāja* being a local ruler, that is to say, one of the earlier kings of Kālīṅga, in view of the clear suggestion in the Hāthi-Gumphā record that this King Nanda took away the throne of Jina from Kālīṅga and was somehow connected with Aṅga and Magadha.

Thus the interpretation of *Naṃdarāja* as Nanda-era failing to hold its ground, the only alternative left is to expound the compound *Naṃdarāja-tivasasata-oghāṭita-panāḍi* as signifying "the canal opened out by King Nanda 103 or 300 years ago." Though there is much to be said in favour of the presumption that "103 years" is the *primā facie* construction of *tivasasata*, and that if "300 years" were the intended sense, the expression would have been differently worded, the compound, as it is, must not be expounded excluding the possibility of the sense of "300 years."

Proposing to expound the compound *tivasasata* in the sense of "103 years," counted back from Khāravela's fifth regnal year and to identify Khāravela's contemporary King Bahasatimita of Magadha with Puṣya-mitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, none can escape from the conclusions that "Khāravela's Nanda" was no other than King Aśoka Maurya who conquered Kālīṅga in 261 B. C., in the eighth year of his reign, and that Khāravela's accession took place in 163 (261—98) B.C. But there is no other plausible reason for the supposed representation of King Aśoka as King Nanda except the fact that his grandfather, Chandragupta

1. JBORS, Vol. III, Part IV, pp. 441-442.

Maurya, is described in the Vāyu-Purāṇa as a scion of the Nandja family (Nandendu).¹

To us, the proposed identification of 'Khāravela's Nanda' with Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana, the first king of the pre-Mauryan Nanda dynasty, is arbitrary. It is difficult to prove that Nandavardhana either conquered Kālīṅga or reigned in 458 B.C. to be able to found an era in that year.

We find it difficult to agree with Mr. Jayaswal in thinking that "Khāravela's Sātakarṇi" holding territories that lay contiguous to the western border of Khāravela's Kālīṅga kingdom, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty, in the face of these two facts : (1) that the traditions in the Purāṇas assert that the Andhrabhṛtya-Sātavāhana rulers established their suzerainty after the reign of the Śuṅgabhrtya-Kāṇva kings had come to an end,² as well as after the destruction of the Andhra power ;³ and (2) that the territories to the west of Khāravela's Kālīṅga kingdom were included in the Śuṅga empire during the reign of Puṣyamitra and governed by the Śuṅga Viceroy Agnimitra, the son of Puṣyamitra.⁴

Vidiśā was governed, according to the Mālavikāgnimitra, by Prince Agnimitra acting, no doubt, as the Viceroy of his father, King Puṣyamitra. One of the Barhut inscriptions records the first pillar of the Barhut stone-railing as a gift from Cāpādevī, the wife of Revatimitra of Vidiśā.⁵ Another inscription records another gift from Vāsiṣṭhī, the wife of Velimitra of Vidiśā. There can be little doubt that both Revatimitra and Velimitra were connected with the Mitra family in Vidiśā. The Barhut E. Gateway inscription clearly proves that even when King Dhanabhūti invested the Barhut stone-railing with the gateways, Barhut continued to be included in the Śuṅga dominions (*Suganam raje*).⁶

The Purāṇas definitely state that Śiśuka (Simuka of the inscription), the founder of the Andhrabhṛtya-Sātavāhana dynasty, came to rule the

1. B. C. Mazumdar's Orissa in the Making, p. 56. In the Mudrā-Rākṣasa, too, Chandra-gupta Maurya is described as a son of the Nanda king by a Śūdra woman. In the Buddhist tradition, the origin of the Moriyas is traced to the Moriya warriors of Pippalivana.

2. Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 35.

3. Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 45-46.

4. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, second edition, p. 236.

5. Barhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha), No. 4.

6. Barhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha), No. 1.

earth by destroying the lingering remains of the Śuṅga power represented by Suśarman, the last of the Śuṅgabhr̥tya-Kāṇva kings. On the termination of the Śuṅga reign, Vidiśā came under the rule of Śiśunandi who was succeeded by his younger brother Nandiyāśa or Yaśonandi, and Nandiyāśa was succeeded in his turn by three kings of his line, while his daughter's son Śiśuka became the ruler of Purikā.¹ Curiously enough, as Dr. Raychaudhuri observes, Śiśuka is precisely the Purāṇa spelling of the name of Simuka, the founder of the Andhrabhr̥tya-Sātavāhana dynasty.² Here two important facts can be gleaned from the Purāṇa chronicles : (1) the rise in Vidiśā of a neo-Nandi or neo-Nanda family of kings who struggled for supremacy within the Śuṅga dominions, it being quite possible that either Śiśunandi or Nandiyāśa temporarily seized the throne of Magadha, and even conquered Kalinga and opened out a canal 98 years prior to Khāravela's accession and after the termination of the rule of the Śuṅga family, and (2) the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty after destroying the vestiges of the Śuṅga power represented by the last of the Kāṇvas, say, in 27 B.C.

The evidence of the Pabhosā inscription of King Āṣāḍhasena of Adhicatrā, representing Āṣāḍhasena as the maternal uncle of King Bṛhaspatimitra and recording the construction of a cave for the use of the Kāśyapiya Arhats in the tenth year of Udāka who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the fifth king of the Śuṅga-Mitra family, is really a strong point in favour of Mr. Jayaswal's identification of Khāravela's Magadhan rival Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra. But there are certain inscriptional evidences to dispute the correctness of the inclusion.³ It is difficult moreover, to account by Mr. Jayaswal's theory of two sets of names in literature and epigraphy for a number of kings bearing 'Mitra' as a common surname, *e.g.*, Viṣṇumitra of Gautamimitrā's inscription, Brahmamitra whose wife Nāgadevi donated a corner pillar of the old stone-railing at Buddha-Gayā, and Indrāgnimitra whose wife Āryā Kuraṅgi donated a large bulk of the Buddha-Gayā stone-railing. There may seem to be much truth in Dr. Raychaudhuri's suggestion that these Mitra kings belonged, perhaps, together with Bṛhaspatimitra, to a neo-Mitra dynasty, which arose sometime after the destruction of the Kāṇva power. We

1. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.

2. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, second edition, p. 254.

3. Sir John Marshall's "A Guide to Sanchi," p. 11, f. n.; Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 252.

must bear always in mind that so far as Puṣyamitra is concerned, he is designated *Puṣyamitra* both in literature and in inscription (Jayaswal's 'Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā'), and so far as Brhaspatimitra is concerned, he is designated *Bahasatimitra* in the inscriptions and in the coin-legends. Secondly, in the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, *Naṃdarāja* of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription should be identified with Mahāpadma Nanda or with one of his sons on the ground that "it is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kṣatriyas' or the old reigning families;" *Sātakaṇi* mentioned in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as a contemporary of Khāravela should be identified with "Sātakarṇi II whose reign may be tentatively dated between B.C. 75-20," partly on the ground that this Sātakarṇi finds mention in the Purāṇas without a qualifying adjective 'śrī' characterising his name, just in the same way that Sātakaṇi finds mention in Khāravela's inscription without such a qualifying epithet; King Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Sanchi Gateway inscription should be distinguished as Sātakarṇi II from Simuka's son, Sātakarṇi I, referred to in the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nāyanikā for the simple reason that on palaeographic grounds the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription of Khāravela must be placed between the Nānāghāt Cave and Barhut E. Gateway inscriptions, on one side, and the Sanchi Gateway inscription, on the other.¹

Identifying 'Khāravela's Nanda' with Mahāpadma Nanda or with one of his sons who reigned in the 4th century B.C. and explaining *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of "300 years," it is easy to conclude that the rise of Khāravela "probably synchronised with the fall of the Śuṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the power of Magadha."²

Our main objection to the proposed identification of 'Khāravela's Nanda' with Mahāpadma Nanda or with any other pre-Mauryan Nanda king is that it is almost conclusive from the statements in Aśoka's R. E. XIII that Aśoka was the first among the Indian kings reigning after the Buddha's demise to conquer the theretofore unconquered land of the Kaliṅgas (*aviṣṭam vijinīṭam*) and to annex the same to his own kingdom. Kaliṅga has been described as 'a recently annexed territory' (*adhunā-ladhā Kaliṅgā*), it being conquered just in the eighth year of his reign (261 B.C.). Serious reflections on the terrible consequences of his war with

1. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11, 14-15.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 11.

Kaliṅga are said to have brought about a great turning point in his life and career. It is evident from his two Separate Rock Edicts that he governed the province of Kaliṅga by his viceroy and high functionaries. It is certain that this province remained under his rule for at least twenty-nine years (261-232 B.C.). It is manifest from all his statements that he really found the conquest of Kaliṅga a hard nut to crack, and that, in spite of his most determined attacks, he failed to conquer and annex all the tracts covered by Khāravela's kingdom of Kaliṅga. He had to leave out certain parts demarcating them as unconquered outlying tracts (*aṃtā avijitā*) and placing them in charge of his high functionaries known as 'Wardens of the Marches' (*Aṃtapā/ū-mahāmātā*). The digging of a canal near the Tosali road may be regarded as a possible work of his. And, lastly, there were two sets of inscriptions, one set incised on the Dhauli rock separated by an open plain from the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri and the other incised on the Jaugaḍa rock within a few miles from Khāravela's capital to remind the inhabitants of Kaliṅga of the fact of its conquest by an outsider. The personal name of King Aśoka having not been recorded in these inscriptions, it was not impossible for the local people to identify the author of the inscriptions and the excavator of the Tosali road canal with a Magadhan king Nanda whom the growing spurious Brahmanical traditions made them familiar with.

Two of the stories of hell in the Petavatthu which is one of the post-Aśokan Pāli works included in the Buddhist Tipiṭaka alludes to the kingdom of a fabulously rich Nanda king abounding in the wealth of all kinds of apparels.¹ The commentary on the Petavatthu identifies Nandarāja of these stories with a pre-Buddhist king of Kāśī.² The Jaina Bhagavati-Sūtra (XV. 1) speaks of a powerful King Jayasena Vimalavāhana Mahāpadma (*Mahāpauma*) reigning in the city of Satadvāra at the foot of the Vindhya mountain long long after the death of the Ājivika teacher Gośāla who predeceased Mahāvira by sixteen years. As a mighty persecutor of the Jains, this King Mahāpadma is represented as an embodiment of the evil spirit of Gośāla.³ None need be surprised if this Jayasena

1. Petavatthu, II. 1, III. 2 :—

Yāvatā Nandarājassa vijitasmin paṭicchadā.

2. Paramattha-Dīpanī, the volume containing the Petavatthu-Commentary, p. 73. Somehow, it is to this King Nanda that the legend in Alberuni's Indika of the Nanda king, rich with buried treasures, may be traced.

3. None need be surprised if some such king was behind the story in the Sanskrit *ślokas* from an Old Oriyā MS. of a vedadharmā-parāyaṇa Nanda rival of the Jain King Aira-Ahira of Utkala.

Vimalavāhana Mahāpadma who held his kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya mountain was the same king as Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, whom the Purāṇas praise as a ruler who reigned in the city of Kāncanākā for sixty years and performed a horse sacrifice.¹

Under the circumstances, particularly having regard to the hard facts recorded by King Aśoka, it may be far safer to err by identifying 'Khāravela's Nanda' with Aśoka Maurya and assigning Khāravela's accession to the second quarter of the 1st century A.D., interpreting *ti-vasa sata* in the sense of "300 years," or by identifying him with Śiśunandi or with Yaśonandi who snatched away Vidiśā from the Śuṅga dominions on the fall of the Śuṅga power and assigning Khāravela's accession to the same second quarter of the 1st century A.D. interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of "103 years," than falling into endless difficulties by proposing to identify 'Khāravela's Nanda' with Mahāpadma Nanda and to assign Khāravela's accession to the period covered by the reign of the Kāṇvas in the 1st century B.C. and identifying Khāravela's contemporary King Br̥haspatimitra of Magadha with none.

Khāravela's Sātakarṇi may have been the sixth Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Purāṇas, that is to say, Rai Bahadur Chanda's Sātakarṇi II. This identification is borne out by the tradition in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa representing the first seven Meghavāhana and the first seven Sātavāhana kings as contemporaries. We may even concede that Sātakarṇi II was King Sri-Sātakarṇi during whose reign and within whose kingdom the Sanchi gateway was donated by a donor. But how can we think that this Sātakarṇi reigned in the Vidiśā region after the fall of the Śuṅga power when it is expressly stated in the Purāṇas that King Śiśunandi and his four successors reigned in Vidiśā contemporaneously with the Kāṇva rulers of Magadha, and that Śiśuka-Simuka founded the Sātavāhana dynasty only after he had succeeded in destroying the lingering remnants of the Śuṅga power represented by Suśarman, the last of the Kāṇva kings, —Śiśuka-Simuka of Purikā who is described as Yaśonandi's daughter's son?

Thirdly, in the opinion of Dr. Raychaudhuri, 'Khāravela's Nanda' should be identified with Mahāpadma Nanda on the authority of the Purāṇas extolling Mahāpadma, the third pre-Mauryan Nanda king, as "the sole monarch who brought all the ruling powers under his way,"² and 'Khāravela's

1. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

2. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd edition, p. 141.

Śātakarṇi' should be identified with Śātakarṇi I, while Śātakarṇi I himself should be identified with (1) Simuka's son, King Śātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, mentioned in the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nāyanikā, (2) King Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the Sanchi Gateway inscription, (3) the elder *Sarganus* mentioned in the Periplus, and (4) Śātakarṇi, the lord of Pratiṣṭhāna and father of Śaktikumāra mentioned in Indian literature.¹ Regarding Mahāpadma Nanda, he seems to think that the traditions in the Purāṇas can be liberally interpreted so as to imply that even the old ruling family of Kaliṅga was subdued by the all-powerful Nanda monarch. In short, he does not think it improbable that Mahāpadma Nanda effected a conquest in Kaliṅga,² which is said to have been ruled by thirty-two or a similar number of kings who reigned independently as contemporaries of the Śaiśu-nāgas.³ At the same time he seeks to maintain that Śiśuka-Simuka, the first king of the Sātavāhana family, was able to found the Sātavāhana dynasty only after the destruction of the Kāṇva power in 28 B.C.

We have already disposed of the boasted claims in the Purāṇas for Mahāpadma Nanda. If 'Khāravela's Nanda' be Mahāpadma Nanda, the all-powerful pre-Mauryan Nanda monarch of Magadha, if 'Khāravela's Śātakarṇi' be the third king of the Sātavāhana family, and the Sātavāhana dynasty were founded not earlier than 27 B.C., and if "300 years" be the correct rendering of *ti-rasa-sata*, it is for Dr. Raychaudhuri to explain how Khāravela's accession can be placed in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. We must still hold that one should take the presumption created, on the strength of the tradition in the Purāṇas, in favour of the possibility of Mahāpadma Nanda's conquest of Kaliṅga with a grain of salt, first, because this tradition does not tally with the more reliable tradition in the Pāli chronicles, including the Mahābodhivaṃsa, and, secondly, in the face of a clear evidence of Aśoka's R. E. XIII tending to prove just the contrary of what is elicited from the Purāṇas. Dr. Raychaudhuri has attempted indeed in vain to invest the tradition in the Purāṇas with cogency and authenticity by reducing the length of Mahāpadma Nanda's reign from 88 to 28 years on the strength of the reading *astāvīmśati* in a solitary manuscript of the Vāyu-Purāṇa. So long as the reading about the total length of the reigns of Mahāpadma and his successors remains *śatam samāḥ* ("one hundred years"), the reduction of the length of Mahāpadma's

1. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 2nd edition, p. 263 foll.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 142.

3. Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 24.

reign from 88 to 28 in a single manuscript of a particular Purāṇa is unavailing as a proof of authenticity and cogency of the tradition.

We cannot, however, help appreciating the general tenor of Dr. Raychaudhuri's arguments persuading us to assign Khāravela's accession to the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. by placing the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in 27 B.C., identifying Sātakarṇi of the Hāthi-Gumphā text with the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty¹ and relegating King Brhaspatimitra of Magadha to a neo-Mitra dynasty.

This chronological conclusion may derive support from a few collateral evidences, which are as follows :—

(1) The style of the Hāthi-Gumphā text is closely similar and slightly anterior to that of the Milinda-Pañha which is one of the extra-canonical Buddhist texts quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries (*ante*, pp. 172), which, in its turn, presupposes all the Pāli canonical texts as we now have them,—the texts which were committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi towards the close of the 1st century B.C.,² and which according to a tradition embedded in it, was not compiled earlier than 500 years from the Buddha's demise,—an event placed now-a-days in 483 or 484 B.C.³ The Milinda-Pañha was compiled when the memory of King Milinda-Menander was still green in India with that of his courtiers Anantakāya-Antiochus and Damayanta-Demetrios, his capital Sāgala or Śākala, and his birth-place Alasandadīpa (Alexandria). The political position of the Greco-Bactrian king is well brought out in a passage in which he is represented as comparing himself to a lion in a golden cage surrounded by many enemies.⁴ Just as the authenticity of the tradition about the compilation of the Kathāvatthu as a Pāli canonical text in the 18th year of Aśoka's reign and 236 years after the Buddha's demise⁵ may be proved by the close

1. According to the Purāṇas, Simuka, the first Sātavāhana king, reigned for 10, Kṛṣṇa, the second king, for 10 or 18, and Śrī-Sātakarṇi, the third king, for 10 years.

2, 3. Geiger's Translation of the Mahāvamsa, Introduction.

4. Trenckner's Milinda-Pañha, p. 88 : *Seyyathā pi sīho migarājā suvaṇṇa-paṇḍare pakkhitto bahimukho yeva hoti, evam eva kho' haṃ kiñcāpi agāraṃ ajjhāvasāmi bahimukho yeva acchāmi.....bahu me paccatthikā.*

5. Trenckner's Milinda-Pañha, p. 13; Buddhaghosa's Atthasālinī, p. 6, wrongly places the event 218 years, while the Mahāvamsa (V. 278-280) rightly places it 236 years, after the Buddha's demise.

resemblance, among other evidences,¹ between the most peculiar dialectical style of the Kathāvatthu and that of Aśoka's R.E. IX, so, perhaps, the authenticity of the tradition about the compilation of the Milinda-Pañha some 500 years after the Buddha's demise may be proved by the observed close resemblance of its style with that of the Hāthi-Gumphā text. As regards the similarity of style between the Kathāvatthu and Aśoka's R.E. IX, the following quotations may here suffice:—

1. Kathāvatthu, I. 6—*Atthi siyā atītaṃ siyā nrūtītanti. Hañci atītaṃ atthi, atthi siyā atītaṃ siyā nrūtītaṃ tenātītaṃ nrūtītaṃ atītanti*, etc.
2. Aśoka's R. E. IX—*Siyā ra taṃ aṭhaṃ nivāteyū siyā punā no hīlalokike ca vase. Iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akālīkye. Haṃce pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no nīṭe ti hida aṭhaṃ palata anantaṃ punā pasavati. Haṃce punā taṃ aṭhaṃ nivāte ti*, etc.

(2) The invocation formula, *Namo arihaṃtānaṃ namo sava-sidhānaṃ*, used at the commencement of the Hāthi-Gumphā text is closely similar to and somewhat simpler than the formula, *Namo sammā-sambuddhānaṃ paramatthadassīnaṃ sīlāliguṇapāramippattānaṃ*, occurring at the commencement of the Peṭakôpadesa. It may be noted that the Sātavāhana inscriptions have mostly *Siddham* for their benedictory formula. Another form of the convention characterising such works as the Netti-Pakaraṇa, the Milinda-Pañha and the Kauṭīliya Artha-Śāstra is the epitome of the text presented in one or more verses.² This twofold convention³ which became a universal phenomenon in Indian literature dating from

1. Kathāvatthu, I. 3, stating: *Majjhimesu janapadesu atthi brahmacariyavāso, Puccantimesu janapadesu n'atthi brahmacariyavāso Milakkhesu aviññātāresu. yattha n'atthi gati bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhuninaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ*.

2. Netti-Pakaraṇa, p. 1:—

*Yaṃ loko pūjayate salokapālo sadā namassati ca |
Tass'eta sāsanaṃ vidūhi ñeyyaṃ naravarassa ||*

Milinda-Pañha, p. 1:—

*Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyaṃ puruttame |
Upagañchi Nāgasenaṃ Gaṅgā va yathā sāgaram ||*

Artha-Śāstra, p. 6:—

*Sukha-grahaṇa-vijñeyyaṃ tattvārthapada-niscitam |
Kauṭīlyena kṛtaṃ śāstraṃ vimuktegrantha-vistaram ||*

3. The rule that a treatise should be commenced with either benedictory invocation or the specification of the thesis (*āśīrnamāśkriyā vastu-nirdeśo vāpi tanmūlam*) which is prescribed in the Kāvya-Prakāśa and other Indian works on poetics must have been suggested by the twofold convention that came into vogue.

the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D. cannot be traced either in Indian literature or in Indian epigraphy prior to the beginning of the Christian era. The *Peṭakôpadesa* and the *Netti-Pakaraṇa* are the two extra-canonical Pāli companion works ascribed to Mahākaccāna. Of them, the former may be shown to have been quoted by name in Buddhaghoṣa's *Atthasālinī*,¹ and the latter may be shown to have been presupposed by the *Milinda-Pañha* and Buddhaghoṣa's *Atthasālinī*.² Prof. Hardy, the editor of the *Netti-Pakaraṇa*, fixes the 2nd century A.D. as the date of composition of this work. We have taken these two Pāli works with the *Artha-Śāstra* because, in our opinion, the *Artha-Śāstra*, as we now have it, cannot be dated earlier than the 2nd century A.D. The concluding chapter of the *Artha-Śāstra* deals with 32 *Tantra-yuktis* representing the terminology of textual methodology. Curiously enough, a precisely similar treatment has been accorded to the same number of *Tantra-yuktis* in the *Suśruta-Saṃhitā* (*Uttaratantra*, Ch. LXV) which is, in its extant form, a compilation of the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D., while the total number of the *Tantra-yuktis* has been increased to 34 in the *Caraka-Saṃhitā*.³ So far as Pāli literature is concerned, the *Netti-Pakaraṇa* and the *Peṭakôpadesa* are the two well-known treatises on textual methodology. It will be noticed that the twofold convention combined in the opening verses characterises also the *Mādhyaṃika-Kārikā* of Nāgārjuna who was associated with one of the *Sātavāhana* rulers :—

Anirodhaṃ anutpādaṃ anucchedaṃ aśāśvataṃ |
Anekārthaṃ anānārthaṃ anāgamaṃ anirgamaṃ ||
Yañ pratītya-samutpādaṃ prapañcōpāśamaṃ śīvaṃ |
Deśayāmāsa sambuddhas taṃ vande vudatūṃ varam ||

(3) The Barhut stone-railing which is a purely Śuṅga architecture bears two sculptural representations of Aśokan pillars.⁴ There are instances of imitation of Aśokan pillars in Śuṅga architecture among the ruins of Buddhist monasteries and monuments at Sarnath. The pillars

1. *Atthasālinī*, p. 165.

2. See the characterisation of *saddhā* in the *Netti* (p. 28), the same in the *Milinda* (pp. 34 foll.), and the quotation of both in the *Atthasālinī*, pp. 119-120. See, also, how the simple characterisation of *satī* by *apilāpana-lakkhaṇā satīti* in the *Netti* has been elaborated in the *Milinda* (pp. 37-38).

3. *Caraka-Saṃhitā*, *Siddhisthāna*, Ch. XII.

4. Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. III.

with octagonal shafts and Aśokan capitals as typified by the pillars of the Barhut E. Gateway represent the final stage in the development of the Śuṅga style of architecture. The old stone-railing at Buddha-Gayā, mostly donated by the queens of the later Mitra dynasty, bear sculptural representations of the typical Śuṅga pillars at Barhut,¹ while the typical Buddha-Gayā pillars go to show a considerably modified form of the Śuṅga pillars at Barhut.² The shrine-posts on the hills of Udayagiri and Kharagiri, ornamented according to their description in the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 15), alternately with two different flower-designs, indicate a wide departure from the Śuṅga style established at Barhut.

Thus we dispose of the vexed question of Khāravela's date, remembering all the while that Indian chronology is a house of cards, which may break down at any moment. But it cannot be doubted that the sun of the royal power of Kaliṅga reached the zenith during the reign of King Khāravela, though the light which dazzled the eyes was destined to set for ever. The warrior-like spirit of Khāravela and his bold undertaking of military campaigns all over India clearly prove that militarism was in full vigour in the country in spite of Aśoka's advocacy of the ideal of conquest by the *dhamma*. But what has been the final result of the wars and warfare that served to keep Khāravela ever busy and the people of Kaliṅga always in excitement? The final result has been this that Mahāvijaya Khāravela disappeared completely out of sight after the 14th year of his reign and the Meghavāhana dynasty came to an end within a few years of his death. The fateful career of Khāravela is enough to prove that the arms that hurl missiles may strike terror, but the arms that embrace that conquer for good. It is Aśoka who set up the ideal of conquest by the *dhamma*. Khāravela upset this ideal only to be forgotten even in the literature of the Jains, while the memory of Aśoka has all along been adored by the whole Buddhist world. The sigh of monarchs found its fitting expression in the verse singing the death-ode of the royal state and the everlasting glory of the nobler deeds of men :

Jīranti ve rājarathā sucittā, atho sarīram pi jaram upeti |

*Satañ ca dhammo na jaram upeti, santo have sabbhi pavedayanti ||*³

1. Cunningham's Mahābodhi, Pl. IV, two square panels.

2. Cunningham's Mahābodhi, Pl. IV, the pillar in the middle.

3. Dharmapada, Jarāvagga. Such is indeed the moral or central idea of the Mahāvamsa which is the greatest known epic chronicle of the kings of Ceylon, and of all the epics of the Hindus.

"The painted royal chariot falls indeed into decay ; even the body (which passes as one's own) is sure to approach the same fate. The noble tradition of the virtuous alone does not go to decay. This is indeed the proclaimed opinion of those of tranquil heart who discuss with good men."

Khāravela, the sovran lord of Kalinga, was wise enough to beware of his royal state betimes and to take steps, when opportunity occurred, to build the costly works of art and architecture in glorification of his religion. And it is the lingering rock-cut caves on the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri which have immortalised him and raised up the people of Kalinga in the estimation of civilised humanity.

15. THE CITY OF KALINGA

Khāravela's inscription is not without a few interesting hints as to the plan, picturesqueness, internal life, joy and prosperity of the city of Kalinga which was the capital of his Kalinga kingdom.

As regards the plan and picturesqueness, we have mention, in the first-year's record (I. 2), of (1) *gopura* (gate-house), (2) *pākāra* (wall), (3) *nivesana* (residential building), (4) *taḍāga* (tank), and (5) *nyāna* (garden) as features associated with the city of Kalinga. As to other features, there are allusions, in the ninth year's record (I. 10), to (6) *vijaya-nirāsa Mahāvijaya-pāsāḍa* (the royal residence, the Great-victory palace); in the twelfth year's record, to (7) *vīthi* (road), (8) *catara* (square), (9) *palikha* (gate-bar), and (10) *sihara* (tower), besides *gopura* (gate-house); and in the fifth year's record (I. 6), to (11) *panāḍī* (canal). A few terms preceding *vīthi* and denoting other features are now missing from the twelfth year's record.

So far as the twelfth year's record goes, the terms *vīthi*, *catara*, *palikha*, *gopura* and *sihara* are all used in plural forms (*vīthi-catara-palikhāni gopurāni siharāni*). We may with good reasons maintain that the terms *gopura*, *pākāra*, *nivesana*, *taḍāga* and *nyāna* have been used in a plural sense also in the first year's record. The plural sense of the first three terms is not inconsistent with the copulative compound *gopura-pākāra-nivesanam*. The plural sense of *taḍāga* may be easily derived from the compound *taḍāga-pāḍīyo* which is a plural expression. The plural sense of *nyāna* is conveyed by the pronominal adjective *sava* which is the first member of the compound *sarvānyāna* (*sarvōdyāna*). Thus it may be established that the city of Kalinga, even as King Khāravela found it at the time of his anointment, contained many a *gopura*, many a

pākāra, many a *nivesana*, many a *taḍāga*, and many a *uyāna*. But as regards *Mahāvijaya-pāsāḍa* and *panāḍi*, the implied sense is singular.

The general features implied by these terms go to show that the city of Kalinga was built, even before the reign of Khāravēla, on the same plan, more or less, as other Indian cities, *e.g.*, the city of Sāgala of which we have a vivid description in the Milinda-Pañha (Trenckner's edition, pp. 1-2). It may be inferred from the hints given in Khāravēla's inscription that the palace used as the royal residence was the main centre of interest in the city of Kalinga, precisely as in other cities ; that the residential buildings were all inside a city-wall provided with gateways and gate-bars, and themselves were provided with enclosures and gate-houses ; that the various gardens, parks and groves added to picturesqueness of the city ; that the roads, squares, court-yards and canals facilitated easy communication and intercourse ; that the deep and cool tanks (*gabhīra-sīta'-taḍāga*) served as reservoirs of water for drinking, bathing and washing purposes, while the spire-temples towering above the house-tops stood out as various centres of religious worship.

Comparing the plural expressions in Khāravēla's inscription with those in the Milinda description of the city of Sāgala, we cannot fail to notice that each of them falls short of the expected expression by one or two words, as the following table will indicate :

K. I.	M.
(1) <i>gopura</i>	<i>gopura-toraṇa</i>
(2) <i>taḍāga</i>	<i>taḷāka-pokkharuṇi</i>
(3) <i>uyāna</i>	<i>ārāma-uyyāna-upavana</i>
(4) <i>vīthi-cataru</i>	<i>vīthi-caccara-catukka-siṅghāṭaka</i>
(5) <i>nivesana-sihara</i>	<i>antarāpāṇa-vividha-dānaggasala- Himagiri-sikhara-saṅkūsa-vara- bhavana</i>

Reading between the lines, it is easy to understand that the purpose of Khāravēla's inscription was far from giving a connected description of the city of Kalinga, and that the features implied by the additional words in the Milinda description were meant to be covered by the plural sense of the words in the former. We say that where *gopura* in the sense of *gate-house* or *gate-tower* is employed, *torāṇa* in the sense of *gate* or *gateway* is implied there. Similarly where *taḍāga* in the general sense of *tank* is

employed, *poḥkharāṇi* in the sense of small tank need not be separately mentioned. The Hāthi-Gumphā expression *sarāyāna*, interpreted in the sense of *all gardens* or *all kinds of garden*, may be said to include in it both *ārāma* (park) and *upavana* (grove). As regards *vīthi* and *catara*, it is not unlikely that some term corresponding to the Pāli *catukka-siṅghātaka* meaning *cross roads* has vanished with the missing words preceding *vīthi*. Anyhow, where *vīthi* in the general sense of *road* is employed, *catukka-siṅghātaka* in the sense of *cross-road* need not be separately mentioned. And so as to the varieties of *nivesana-sihara*.

For details of the plans of Indian cities, the reader is referred to Dr. B. B. Dutt's "Town-planning in Ancient India". As for the technical architectural significance of the above terms, Dr. P. K. Acharya's "Dictionary of Hindu Architecture" is sure to prove to be the best help. It will be evident from Dr. Acharya's quotations that *gopuras* in the sense of gate-houses or gate-towers were not peculiar to religious edifices; but these formed the paraphernalia of religious temples, as well as of residential buildings. It is equally manifest from Dr. Acharya's article on *Prāsāda* that the Great-victory-palace as a literal rendering of *Mahāvijaya-pāsāda* in Khāravela's inscription does not bring out the technical architectural significance of the term. The buildings of the *Vijaya* class were all two-storeyed. His quotations from the literary texts and the inscriptions make it clear that *sihara* or *śikhara* as a tower or turret was as much a crowning construction of a spire temple as that of a palatial building. Nevertheless, the terms *gopurāni* and *siharāni*, as used in the twelfth year's record of Khāravela's reign, would seem to be associated with certain religious temples within the city of Kālīṅga.

As for the existence of temples dedicated to various deities, we have to look just into the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (I. 16) in which Khāravela has been praised as *sava-devāyatana-saṃkāra-kāraṇa*, "the repairer of all abodes of the gods." *Devāyatana* is a technical term, the significance of which may be made clear from Dr. Acharya's quotations *sub voce*—*Āyatana*, *Devāyatana* and *Devālaya*. It is not difficult to understand that the so-called 'abodes of the gods' were in reality nothing but the Hindu shrines which stood in the name of different deities or the Hindu temples in which the images of different gods, demi-gods, goddesses and demi-goddesses were enshrined for worship by the people. These shrines and temples were to be located, as Dr. Dutt's book will show, in every Indian city. We shall entirely miss the force of *sava* (all) in the expression *sava-devāyatana*, "all abodes of the

gods," not taking it to denote all kinds of shrines and temples : those in which there were images and those in which there were no images.

If it can thus be proved that the Hāthi-Gumphā text clearly refers, in its concluding paragraph, to the existence of "Deva-temples," we may be justified in thinking, first, that the terms *gopura* and *sihara* in its twelfth year's record were intended to be interpreted as well in connection with *nivesana* and *pāsādu* preceding them as with *devāyatana* following them ; and secondly, that the worship of idols in the Hindu temples and shrines had come into existence in Kaliṅga before the reign of Khāravela, and long before the Buddhists made the Buddha-images for worship during the Kuṣāna rule.

With regard to the part played by Khāravela in the building up of the city of Kaliṅga, we read in the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 2) that immediately after his consecration, in the very first year of his reign, he spent 35,00,000 (pieces of money) in thoroughly repairing the gate-houses, walls and residential buildings damaged by stormy wind in his capital, in raising up embankments of the deep and cool tanks, and in restoring all the gardens. From this it is clear that his first year's work was just a work of reparation and restoration. This record clearly proves that the royal city of Kaliṅga was bedecked with many gardens and many kinds of gardens ; that it shone forth with its high walls, gate-towers and buildings ; and that it abounded in the deep and cool tanks serving as reservoirs of good drinking water and as bathing places. So far as these tanks go, we may say that the kingdom of Kalṅga is remarkable in its modern identity precisely as it was two thousand years ago.

King Khāravela did not, however, stop at the work of reparation and restoration. The extension of Nanda-king's canal from the Tanasuliya or Tanasuli road into the heart of the city was a costly work, which was accomplished by him in his fifth regnal year as a means of facilitating communication and irrigation, among other advantages. The two-storeyed new royal residence known by the imposing name of "Great-victory palace" and decked with beryl work,¹ for which he is said to have spent 38,00,000 (pieces of money), was, undoubtedly, a very costly addition made by him to the city architecture. But even this was not all. The

1. The architectural significance of the expression *veḷuriya-Mahā-vijaya-pāsāda* may be understood in the light of *veḷuriya-phala.santhata pāsāda* in Fausbøll's *Jātaka*, Vol VI, p. 279.

twelfth year's record goes to show that he made a good deal of improvement by constructing new roads and squares, by strengthening the gates with new bars, as well as by setting up new gate-houses and towers.

Now, with regard to the internal life, joy and prosperity of the city of Kaliṅga, it may suffice to observe that there are allusions, in the second year's record (I. 3), to (1) the location of multitudinous fighting army, consisting of all the four divisions ; in the eighth year's record (I. 9), to (2) triumphal processions of victory characterised by the carrying of the Wishing-tree at the head and by the marching of the four divisions of the army at the back, as well as to (3) the feasting of all sections of the people, the general population, the officers, the religious sects keeping to household life, the Brahmanical ascetics and the Jain recluses ; in the third year's record (I. 4), to (4) the entertainment of the citizens by combats or comies, by songs, dances, musical performances, as well as by feasts, festivities and joyous gatherings, the king himself being represented as an expert in the science of music ; in the seventh year's record (I. 8), to (5) a pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, guards and horses, as well as to (6) the performance of all ceremonies of victory ; in the sixth year's record (I. 7), to (7) the wholesale remission of taxes and duties and the dispensing of many bounties as a display of the royal fortune ; and in the twelfth year's record (I. 13), to (8) the receiving of jewels, antelopes, horses and elephants, as well as the elephants, horses and other animals capable of exciting curiosity (*abhutam-achariya-hathisa-pasava*) as presents from the Vāsukis, and no less to (9) the supply of pearls, gems, jewels and rich apparels as tributes from the king of Pāṇḍya ; and in the eleventh year's record (I. 12), to (10) the paying of homage to the former kings of Kaliṅga as a great public and social function.

The description is apparently incomplete. Nevertheless, it is full enough to portray a vivid picture of the joyousness of a happy, active, prosperous and crowded city. Here just one point calls for remark. In regard to the presents from a hundred Vāsukis (I. 10), we have these two statements, (1) *abhutamachariyam hathisa-pasavam pariharamti*, and (2) *miga-haya-huthi upanāmayamti*, which would have been mistaken as overlapping. But from the adjective *abhuta-achariya*, "curious and wonderful," characterising the elephants, horses and such other beasts in the first clause, it appears that these were collected and preserved as curios, and reared in the royal enclosure for exhibition.

16. THE CAVES, SHRINES AND PILLARS

Khāravela's hard-earned fame as a builder was not confined to the repairing of the city of Kalinga and the improvement of the same by the rebuilding of embankments of the deep and cool tanks, the restoration of all the gardens, the extension of the Nandarāja canal, the erection of *Mahāvijaya-pāsāda* as a new two-storeyed and beryl-set palace, and the addition of new roads, squares, gate-bars, gate-houses, and towers. And we may note that his religious endowments were not exhausted by the repairing of Hindu temples and the occasional feasting of the Brahmins and Jain recluses.

The Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptional records go to prove that he showed his royal munificence to the professors of his own faith, namely, the Jain saints and recluses who resided on the Kumārī hill, in causing one hundred and seventeen caves (*satadusa-leṇa-saṭaṇ*) to be made as joint excavations of himself, his queens, his sons, his relatives, his brothers, and his officers, sharing the merit and fame with the rest of the pious donors and glorifying the tradition of Jainism with the most ancient known landmarks of its art and architecture. All of these 117 caves were intended to serve as resting places of the resident Jain saints and recluses (*Arahato pariniyāsato hi kāya-nisīdiyāya*).

Apart from what he accomplished jointly with other excavators of the Jain cave-dwellings on the Kumārī hill, the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription clearly shows (I. 15) that he caused to be excavated under his own auspices and as the crowning glory of the recorded last year of his reign, one cave for the accommodation of the venerated (Jain) recluses and the (Hindu) *yatis*, hermits and sages visiting the place from a hundred directions. His last recorded munificence, amounting to seventy-five hundred thousand pieces of Indian money current at that time in his Kalinga kingdom, sufficed to enable him to make, along with the excavation of the last-mentioned spacious cave, a number of stone-pillars and shrines on a slope in the neighbourhood of cave-dwellings of the Jain saints and recluses and by means of some hundred thousand slabs of stone, quarried out of excellent quarries extending over several leagues (*Arahato nisīdiya-samīpe pabhāre varākara-samthāpitāhi aneka-yojana-āhitāhi silāhi silā-thambhāni ca cetiyāni kārāpayati*).

The same amount just sufficed also to cover the cost of erecting an edifice, providing it with a canopied court-yard adorned with a pillared

beryl-hall, as well as of causing one-half-hundred shrine-posts, ornamented with the alternate settings of beryl and emerald, to be produced alongside (*patalika-catara ca veḍuriya-gabhe thaṃbhe patithāpayati pīnatariya-satasahasēhi, veḍuriya-ṇila-rochīmṇaṃ ceca-yāthi-adhasatikam tirigaṃ upādāyati*).

With regard to the 117 caves jointly excavated on the Kumārī hill by King Khāravela and others, the following questions are apt to arise here : (1) Why all of them were not inscribed ? (2) What was the system of counting them ? (3) What has befallen the missing caves ? (4) How to account for their modern names ? (5) What are the component parts of a cave ? (6) What is the technical significance of the term *leṇa* ? (7) What are the purposes that these caves in particular were intended to serve ?

First, the question as to why all the 117 caves were not inscribed has been discussed at some length in connection with the problem of the relative total of the caves and inscriptions. We have sought hitherto to maintain that the caves excavated by the donors other than Khāravela himself were labelled with inscriptions, recording in each of them the name of the person or persons by whom the particular cave or group of caves was excavated or the component parts of a cave were donated, while in the case of the caves excavated by King Khāravela, as well as of other works of art and architecture done under his auspices, we have a departure from the general rule in that these, instead of bearing a separate inscription each, are all collectively referred to in the records of a single inscription, namely, the lengthy inscription of Khāravela incised on the hanging brow of the projected roof of the Hāthi-Gumphā on the present hill of Udayagiri. We have also pointed out that the thirteenth year's record in this inscription alludes in a general fashion to the caves excavated by his queens, sons, brothers, relatives and officers, in which case the engraving of separate inscriptions would have been superfluous were it not for keeping them distinct from His Majesty's own works, and no less for satisfying the natural but legitimate desire of the various donors to perpetuate their memory and offering an incentive to others to similar acts of piety.

Secondly, as to the system of counting the caves, the general principle seems to have been to count each of the one-storeyed caves consisting of one or more cells or chambers confronted by an open or pillared verandah as one cave, and to count each such suit on each floor of a two-storeyed construction as one cave, *e. g.*, in the example of the Mañcapurī group of caves representing a two-storeyed construction, the suit in the upper storey was labelled by an inscription recording it to be a cave excavated by Khāravela's chief queen, and the corresponding suit in the lower storey was

similarly labelled by a second inscription recording it to be a cave excavated by King Kadampa-Kudepa. A puzzling complication has arisen from a third inscription incised over the doorway of a side chamber on the southern side of the verandah of Kadampa-Kudepa's cave and recording it to be a cave excavated by Prince Vaṣukha-Varikha. But it is somewhat difficult to decide whether the side chamber confronting the verandah of Kadampa-Kudepa's cave or a separate chamber provided with some sort of a verandah and situated on the southern side of the open enclosure or courtyard in front of Kadampa-Kudepa's cave was intended to be recorded in the third inscription as Prince Vaṣukha-Varikha's cave. In discussing the problem of the relative total of the caves and inscriptions, we have sought to maintain that although the third inscription was incised over the doorway of the former, it was really intended to refer to the latter, that is, to the suite on the southern side of the court-yard, and that the object of engraving the third inscription over the doorway of the former was to draw the notice of the visitor or pilgrim entering the verandah of Kadampa-Kudepa's cave and moving towards the right in peeping into the three chambers including that on the south side with the possibility of coming out without minding what was on the south side of the courtyard. If this argument be sound, we may make bold to say that the system was to count each suit of one or more chambers, whether in one line or not, but surely confronted by some sort of a verandah, as one cave.

Thirdly, as to the fate of the missing caves, we cannot but be astonished that so many of the caves on the Kumāri hill have vanished beyond recognition. Sir John Marshall says that taken together, the two groups of caves on the hills of Udayagiri and Khanagiri, "comprise more than thirty-five excavations." But we are not, as yet, aware what method he has adopted in counting the total of the surviving caves, and whether the number suggested by him includes the four or five caves which have sunk down showing still their roofs above the ground on two sides of the Udayagiri or not. We may, once again, draw the reader's attention to Mr. Stirling's paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, containing, as it does, all that we yet know of the miserable fate that overtook the missing caves.

As for the names whereby the caves are known at present,¹ it is obvious that we require more explanations than one to account for them. In the

1. Manomohan Ganguly, in his *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 84, has produced the following list of caves on the two hills: (1) *Īāthī-Gumphā*, (2) *Vaikuṇṭhapura*,

case of such names as Hāthi-Gumphā (the Elephant-cave), Choṭa-Hāthi-Gumphā (the Small Elephant-cave), Vyāghra-Gumphā (the Tiger-cave), Sarpa-Gumphā (the Snake-cave), Ajagara-Gumphā (the Python-cave), and Beṇ-Gumphā or Bheka-Gumphā (the Frog-cave), we find that all of them were suggested by the general shapes of the caves designated by them, particularly their front views creating appearances of the foreparts of the animals or creatures indicated in them. It is very striking indeed that the front view of the cave known by the name of Hāthi-Gumphā suggests the appearance of just the forepart of a royal elephant sitting majestically on its front legs. Such an appearance was appropriate to the cave which was to bear on the hanging brow of its projected roof the famous inscription of His Graceful Majesty King Khāravēla. Similarly, the appearance of a small elephant was appropriate to the Choṭa-Hāthi-Gumphā which was to bear an inscription of Prince Vaḍuka-Varikha's.

The most remarkable is the front view of the Vyāghra-Gumphā suggesting the appearance of the head of a tiger with its distended jaws. No one can mistake that the front view of the Sarpa-Gumphā suggests the appearance of the upraised large hood of a cobra, or that the front view of the Ajagara-Gumphā suggests the appearance of the gaping mouth of a python. In the same way, none can mistake that the front view of the Beṇ-Gumphā or Bheka-Gumphā suggests the appearance of the open mouth of a frog.

In the absence of all of the caves it is difficult to say if there were not, amongst them, some caves with their front views suggestive of the appearances of animals other than the elephant and the tiger, and of creatures other than the cobra, the python and the frog. One fact, however, is certain that one can still trace shapes of the same creature, whether it is snake or frog, in a set of two or more caves, say, for instance, in the roofs of four or five caves that have sunk down on two sides of the hill of Udayagiri.

(3) Pātālapura, (4) Mañcapurī (Yamapura?), (5) Haridās Gumphā (Choṭa-Hāthi-Gumphā), (6) Sarpa-Gumphā, (7) Vyāghra-Gumphā, (8) Gaṇeśa-Gumphā, (9) Jagannāth-Gumphā, (10) Svargapurī or Alakāpurī, (11) Rāni-Gumphā, (12) Jaya-Vijaya, (13-20) eight nameless, these being the caves on Udayagiri; (21) Ananta-Gumphā, (22) Navamunī, (23-24) Sātākharā or Sātgharā group of two caves—the Barbhujī and the Triśūla, (25) supposed cave of Lālatendu, (26-27) two nameless, these being the caves on Khaṇḍagiri. Be it noted that one of Ganguly's nameless cave on Udayagiri is known by the name of Jambheśvara or Beṇ-Gumphā, and that among the caves on Khaṇḍagiri, one is known by the name of Tattva-Gumphā I, another by that of Tattva-Gumphā II, a third by that of Durgā-Gumphā, and a fourth by that of Hanumān-Gumphā.

If an inference can at all be drawn from the last mentioned fact, it will certainly be this that the underlying motive in the fashioning of the animal and creature shapes of the rock-cut caves was to represent the principal denizens of the Kumārī hill and to limit these shapes to them. Anyhow, the elephants, tigers, cobras, pythons and frogs are still the chief denizens of the two hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri.

We are unable to unravel the mystery of the Frog-cave being otherwise known as Jambheśvara-Gumphā. But it is certain that the Choṭa-Hāthi Gumphā came to be otherwise known as Haridās-Gumphā on account of the fact that this cave was once tenanted by a Vaiṣṇava ascetic known by the name of Haridās.

Among the remaining names, Ganeśa-Gumphā may engage our first attention. This name which, like Haridās-Gumphā, is of Hindu origin, must have been suggested by the figures of two calves of elephants set up in the court-yard in front of the cave concerned. It was easy for the neighbouring Hindu inhabitants to associate these figures with Ganeśa, the elephant-faced god of the Hindu pantheon.

The name of the Ananta-Gumphā on the Khaṇḍagiri hill appears to have been suggested by the figures of the pairs of crawling triple-headed snakes lying over the arch-fronts of the cave which are ornamented with various reliefs containing, among others, one standing figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of Luck. A Vaishnavite must have been easily led by their association with a figure of Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, to identify the trip le-headed snake with the famous Ananta or Śeṣa-nāga of his legend. Thus it may be proved that the name Ananta-Gumphā, too, was of Hindu origin, and that it must have come into existence when the Vaishnavite Hindu ascetics occupied some of the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves.

A more convincing proof of the Hindu origin of some of the names can be adduced from the modern designations of three caves forming a group on the Khaṇḍagiri hill. Of these three caves, one is known as Navamuni on account of the fact that the figures of nine Hindu sages were set up on the walls of the cave in parallel with those of twenty-four Jaina Tirthaṅkaras set up, as recorded in a medieval inscription of the 6th or 7th century A.D. or of still later period in one of these caves, by King Udyota-Keśari of the Keśari dynasty ; another is known as Durgā-Gumphā on account of the fact that the figures of the Hindu goddess Durgā came to be set up at the entrance of the cave containing on its walls in the interior the figures of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras set up by

King Udyota-Keśari in a row ; and the third is known as Hanumān-Gumphā on account of the fact that the figures of Hanumān of the Hindu legend came to be set up in a similar manner in the cave containing the figures of the Tirthaṅkaras set up by the same king on its walls. Here we may add that the name Tattva-Gumphā whereby two of the caves on the Khaṇḍagiri hill are designated can as well be treated as being of Hindu origin. The Vaiṣṇava legend of Jaya and Vijaya as two attendants of Viṣṇu may be held responsible for the name Jaya-Vijaya designating one of the surviving caves on the Udayagiri hill, although there is no difficulty to regard this, along with Tattva, also as a Jain name.

At all events, there can be no doubt that the name Mañcapurī designating a group of three caves, the name Alakāpurī designating one of the surviving sculptured caves on Udayagiri and the Rāṇi-Nūr or Rāṇi-Gumphā designating another richly sculptured cave on the same hill, were of Jain origin, although we are unable to say when these came actually into existence. The tradition about the Rāṇi-Gumphā is that it came to be known as Rāṇi-Gumphā on account of the fact that a queen of the Keśari family of kings lived in it.

The idea of naming the cave of Khāravēla's chief queen in the upper storey of the Mañcapurī group as Vaikuṇṭhapura (the Paradisiacal), of the cave of King Kadampa-Kudepa in the lower storey as Pātālapura (the Infernal), and the side cave of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha on the ground floor as Yamapura (the Hidden) must have been suggested by the peculiarity of their relative position.

We have no means, as yet, of ascertaining whether these caves bore any distinct names as at the present time, and if so, by what names before and immediately after the reign of the Keśari kings. But it may be noted here that in Udyota-Keśari's inscription recording the fact of installation of the images of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras in the caves now known as Navamuni, Durgā and Hanumān, the caves have not been referred to by any name.

Now with regard to the component parts of a cave (*leṇa*) considered as a distinct structure of architecture, we have just a few hints from the inscriptions of Cūlakamma (Nos. VI-VII) and the single inscription of Kamma and Khinā (No. VIII). In the inscriptions of Cūlakamma, we find that the structure has been represented in terms of its component parts instead of being denoted by a term, such as *leṇa*, representing the whole of it. *Koṭṭhājeyā* and *pasāda* or *pasāta* are the two expressions that

have been employed in these records to denote the component parts of a cave-structure.

So far as the term *koṭhā* goes, there is little doubt that it was intended to denote the cells or chambers 'hollowed out at the back and at the end,' and that the term *pasādu* or *pasūta* was used to denote the open or pillared verandah presenting the appearance of the front view of a palace or building, of a façade as one might say.

The difficulty lies in clearing up the mystery of *koṭhājeyā* as to whether it was to be a combination of the two words, *koṭhā* and *ajeyā* (impregnable, unconquerable), treating the latter as an adjective of *koṭhā*, or it was to be a compound of the two words, *koṭhā* and *jeyā*, treating the latter as a term denoting altogether a separate construction within a cave.

Seeing that in the inscription of Kamma and Khīṇā, the two terms, *koṭhā* and *pasāda*, have been used without any word suggestive either of *ajeyā* or of *jeyā*, we may be justified in treating *jeyā* even as a distinct technical term.¹ If so, we have to decide what particular construction was intended to be denoted by it. Dr. P. K. Acharya's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture makes it clear that *jeyā* in the sense of 'pent-roof' is a technical term, which may be equated with the Prakrit *jeyā*. One may notice that in some of the Udayagiri caves, there is a pent-roof in the form of a small projection from the side-wall of the verandah and a little below its main roof. It is possible that this small projection was intended to be denoted by *jeyā* in Cūlakamma's inscriptions.

As to the technical significance of the term *leṇa*, we are aware that each of the cave-dwellings on the Kumārī hill which is designated *leṇa* in the old Brāhmī inscriptions is known now-a-days as *gumphā*, a term equating with the Prakrit *gumphā*, the Aśokan *kubhā*, and the Sanskrit and Pāli *guhā*. *Guhā* has been distinguished in Pāli literature as *mattika-guhā* (earthen cave) and *giri-guhā* (mountain-cave).² In the Barābar Hill cave inscriptions of King Aśoka and the Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of King Daśaratha, the term *kubhā* or *guhā* has been employed to designate certain cave-dwellings of the Ājīvikas prepared by dressing up the mountain-caves and rocky dens of animals, polishing their walls and

1. The text is—*Kaṃmasa koṭhā ca Khīṇāya ca pasādo*.

2. The term *pabbatānaṃ guhā* (cave formations in the mountains) is explained in the Mahā-Niddesa (p. 466) as signifying (1) *Kandarā* (caverns), (2) *giri-guhā* (mountain-caves), and (3) *pabbata-gabbhārā* (hollowed depressions in the mountains).

ornamenting their entrances with arches serving to lend to them the appearance of chapels. These cave-dwellings of the Ājīvikas have neither any verandah nor any properly shaped chambers hollowed out in the interior, and still bears the form of natural cavities and animal dens. These ancient cave-dwellings with their arch-entrances represent the ruder form wherefrom the later Buddhist cave-temples, with their infinitely superior workmanship and ornamentation in the interior, may be said to have developed. And with these ancient Maurya cave-dwellings may be sharply contrasted the caves excavated on the Kumārī hill by King Khāravēla and his coadjutors for the accommodation of the resident Jain saints and recluses as representing altogether a different architectural design and artmanship.

It is evident from their component parts mentioned in some of the old Brāhmī inscriptions, that each of the caves on the Kumārī hill was so designed as to make it appear like a regular cottage or residential building with an open or pillared verandah (*pāsāḍa*) in front of one or more chambers (*koṭhā*) dug out in the interior in the shape of rooms, the verandah being provided, in some examples, with a pent-roof (*jeṇyū*). These cottage-like or palace-like cave-dwellings of the Jain saints and recluses may be judged with their peculiar roofs as Orissan patterns of the Buddhist monasteries at Sarnath and other places.

Now it remains to be seen whether the literary usages sanction the application of the designation *leṇa* to the *kubhā* or cave-dwellings of the Ājīvikas in the Barābar and the Nāgārjunī hills, and the application of the designation *gumphā-guhā* to the *lenāni* or cave-dwellings of the Jains on the two hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. So far as the Pāli literary usages go, we find that the term *leṇa* or *lena* has been employed in its generic, as well as in its specific sense. In its generic sense, it has served as a common designation for five kinds of monastic abodes, *viz.*, (1) *vihāra*, (2) *aḍḍhayoga*, (3) *pāsāḍa*, (4) *hammiya*, and (5) *guhā*.¹ And in its specific sense, it has served as a designation for a particular kind of construction, which is distinguished, in the Vinaya Texts,² from *guhā* (cave) and *tiṇa-kuṭṭikā* (straw-thatched cottage), and in the Milinda-Pañha,³ from *pāsāḍa* (residential building), *kuṭi* (cottage) and *guhā* (ordinary cave) on the one hand, and from *pabbhāra* (cavity with a sloping projection as its covering

1. Vinaya Mahāvagga, I. 30. 4; I. 77; II. 8. 1; III. 5; VI. 33. 2; VIII. 7. 1; Vinaya Cullavagga, VI. 1. 2. See Pāli English Dictionary, *sub voce*—*leṇa*.

2. Vinaya Sutta-Vibhaṅga, IV. 1. 1; XIX. 1-2. 1.

3. Milinda-Pañha, p. 151.

roof), *dari* (grotto), *bila* (chasm), *virara* (hole) and *pabbatantara* (crevice), on the other. It may be realised at once from the Milinda list that *pāsāda*, *kuṭi* and *leṇa* represent human art and architecture, while *pabbhāra* and the rest represent natural formations. As regards *guhā*, it may be treated either as a natural formation or partly as a work of human hand and skill. As for a natural cave, cavity or cavern improved by human hand, there can be no objection to applying to it *leṇa* as a designation or to applying the designation *gumphā* or *guhā* to a *leṇa* in the sense of such a cave. It cannot be denied that the *leṇa* on the Kumārī hill sought to combine in its architectural design the structures of a *pāsāda*, a *guhā* and a *kuṭi*.

Another interesting point is that one of the Vinaya passages, stating, as it does, that a *pabbhāra* was being cleared for making a *leṇa* (*pabbhāraṃ sodhūpeti leṇaṃ kattukāmo*),¹ enables us to understand the connexion and difference between the *pabbhāra* and the *leṇa*, the *pabbhāra* (Hāthi-Gumphā *pabbhāra*) which ordinarily carries with it the idea of a *slope* or *projection* (*ninna*, *poṇa*)² conveys also the idea of a *pabbata-kucchi*,³ that is to say, of a mountain-cave with a sloping projection as its covering roof. We can say that the *leṇa* as an excavation and form of architecture made by human hand is just a *pabbhāra* in its natural condition. At any rate, no other inference can be drawn from Buddhaghosa's definition of a *leṇa* as "a habitation with an opportunity for sitting and lying, made either by excavating a house in a mountain or raising a wall where a *pabbhāra* is insufficient (to serve as a dwelling)." ⁴

Lastly, as to the purposes to be served by the Orissan caves in particular, two years' records in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription state (1) that 117 caves were jointly excavated by King Khāravela and others to provide the Jain saints and recluses permanently residing on the Kumārī hill with shelters for resting their bodies (*Kumārī-pavate Arahato parinivāsato hi kāya-nisīdīyāya*), and (2) that one spacious cave was excavated by King Khāravela himself for the accommodation of the distinguished visitors among the Jain recluses and the *yatis*, hermits and sages among the Hindu

1. Vinaya Mahāvagga, VI, 15, 1.

2. See, for references, the Pali-English Dictionary, *sub voce*—*pabbhāra*.

3. Niddesa-Commentary, Siamese edition, Part II, p. 172: *pabbata-gabbharāṭṭi pabbata-kucchiyo*.

4. *Pabbhāraṃ khaṇitvā vā pabbhārassa appaṇṇakattāṇe kuḍḍaṃ utthāpetvā vā kata-senāsanam*. Quoted in the Pali-English Dictionary, *sub voce*—*leṇa*.

ascetics, coming from a hundred directions (*sakata-saṃṇa-suvihitānaṃ ca sata-disānaṃ yatīnaṃ tūpasa-isīnaṃ leṇaṃ kārayati*). In the fourteenth year's record (I. 15), the cave-dwelling on the Kumāri hill are collectively designated as *Arahato nisīdiya*, "the Ārhatta (Jain) seats."

Mr. Jayaswal seeks to maintain on the strength of some later and mediæval Jain authorities that the term *nisīdiya*, as employed in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, should be interpreted as signifying a "tomb." Accepting his interpretation of the term, we have to understand that King Khāravela and his compatriots excavated the 117 caves on the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri to provide the resident Jain saints and recluses with suitable places for entombing or burying their bodies.

We know perfectly well that his explanation of *nisīdiya*, considered as another form of *niṣaddhi*, *nisīdi*, *nisadyā*, *nisadyakā*, *nisidhiyā*, *nisidhikā*, *nisidhiyālaya* or *nisidhiyeha*, may be justified by the use of the term in several mediæval inscriptions, mostly found in South India, the references whereto have been collected by Dr. P. K. Acharya in his Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. But the question is whether this later mediæval meaning can be read into *nisīdiya* of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription or not, whether, if at all, the idea of a tomb can be associated with *leṇa* in its generic or in its specific sense.

In the first two Barābar Hill cave inscriptions, King Aśoka has not stated the purpose of the caves labelled by them and dedicated to the Ājivikas. But in the third inscription, if Dr. Hultzsch's reading of it be correct, the stated purpose of the cave was to provide its inmates with a retreat during heavy showers of rain (*jalaghosāgamathāti*). Anyhow, we have the Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of King Daśaratha to clearly state the purpose of the dedicated caves to be to provide their Ājivika-dwellers with resting places during the rainy season (*vāa-nisidhiyā*). As regards the thirteenth year's record in the Hāthi-Gumphā text (I. 14), the stated purpose of the caves may be taken to be, first, to provide the Jain saints and recluses with permanent residences as may be inferred from the expression *Arahato parinivāsato*, and, secondly to provide them with solitary retreats for rest, bodily as well as mental (*kāya-nisīlīyāya*, here *kāya* denoting both *rūpa-kāya* and *nāma-kāya* as the Buddhists would explain it). We have, moreover, seen that the Pāli commentator Buddhaghosa has explained *leṇa* as a synonym of *seṇāsana*, a term standing for all kinds of retreats of the ascetics and recluses affording an opportunity for lying and sitting. It may also be noticed that the various purposes of the five kinds of hermitages or

monastic abodes, commonly designated as *lena*, do not include the idea of entombing the bodies. We read in the Vinaya Cullavagga (VI. 1. 3-5 :

Sītaṃ uṇhaṃ paṭihanti tato vāḷamīgāni ca |
Sirīmsape ca makase ca sarīre cāpi vutthiyo ||
Tato vātātapo ghorō sañjāto paṭihaññati |
Lenatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca jhāyitūñ ca vipassitūñ ||
Fihāra-dānaṃ saṃghassa aggaṃ Buddhena raṇṇitaṃ |
Tasmā hi paṇḍito poso saṃpassam attham attano ||
Vihāre kārāye ramme vāsaya'ettha bahussute |

It is manifest from the quoted verses that the purposes of dedicating a *lena* to the ascetics and recluses were to provide the learned teachers of religion with retreats with an accommodation for their residence, to provide them with shelters, comforts and suitable places for meditation and introspection, as well as with the means of protection as against heat and cold, wind and sun-light, ferocious animals, reptiles, mosquitoes and showers of rain.

We may understand that all these were precisely the purposes that the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves were intended to serve, and that in the curious animal or creature shapes of their roofs and front-views one can trace the motive of keeping off the ferocious animals and the venomous reptiles.

Turning to the works of art and architecture done under the auspices of King Khāravela in the fourteenth year of his reign, we have to confess that we are incapable of identifying the spacious cave excavated by him as a sort of rest-house for the distinguished visitors among the Jain recluses, as well as for the Hindu ascetics hailing from a hundred directions. The fourteenth year's record (I. 15), stating that some hundred thousand slabs of stone were collected from the excellent quarries extending over many leagues for the erection of stone-pillars and shrines in the neighbourhood of the Jain cave-dwellings on the Kumārī hill, eloquently speaks of the use of stone as an art-material, as well as of the free development of the stone-cutter's art in Orissa by the time of King Khāravela.

Although King Aśoka is generally credited with the use of stone (*parvata, silā-thambha, silā-phalaka*) as an enduring art and engraving material, the general consensus of opinion among the Indologists is tending to be in favour of an earlier existence of the stone-cutter's art in India which was called in requisition and brought to perfection by the great

Maurya emperor.¹ If King Aśoka can claim the credit for the rock-cut figure of an elephant on Dhavalagiri, the hill of Dhauli, as the earliest known stone-carving in Orissa, King Khāravēla can equally claim the credit for employing the stone-cutter's art successfully on an extensive scale for conjuring up all manner of figures even on the roofs of the rock-cut caves.

In connexion with the stone pillars and shrines (*silā-thaṃbhāni ca cetiyāni*), the important point calling for attention is whether the shrines stood apart from the pillars or the pillars and the shrines were combined.

The fourteenth year's record goes also to show that the last great work of art and architecture done by King Khāravēla was a pillared beryl hall erected in the centre of a canopied court-yard surrounded by fifty shrine-posts, which were ornamented with the alternate settings of beryl and emerald (*veḍuriya-nīla-rochīṃṇaṃ ceca-yāthi-adhusatikāṃ*). We are unable to say where exactly this hall was erected together with the court-yard and the shrine-posts, and whether any traces thereof can yet be found.

With regard to ornamentation of the shrine-posts with the alternate settings of beryl and emerald (*veḍuriya-nīla-rochīṃṇa*), we have sought to maintain that here by the beryl and the emerald were intended to be meant two different kinds of designs or floral devices. It is impossible to think that the shrine-posts were inset alternately with two varieties of precious gems in view of the fact that no such shrine-posts or pillars are to be anywhere found among the lingering remains of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri works of art and architecture. On the other hand, there survive some of the shrine-posts with two kinds of floral devices alternating each other on their shafts.²

17. MARSHALL ON CHRONOLOGY OF THE CAVES³

"Of the early caves along the east coast, the only ones that merit attention here are the two neighbouring and intimately connected groups

1. If the simile in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya (Part I, p. 283), "*Seyyathā pi bhikkhāve pāsāṇe lekhaṇaṃ khippanaṃ lujjati vātena vā, ulakena vā. ciraṭṭhitikā hoti*," "Just as, O bhikkhus, a writing on a stone is not quickly effaced either by the effects of wind or by those of water but becomes long-enduring," which is put into the mouth of the Buddha be earlier than Aśoka's time, it is certain that the idea of employing stone or rock as a long-enduring material for engraving had not originated with Aśoka.

2. R. L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, Pl. I.

3. Quoted from the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 638-642, Sir John Marshall's article—"The Monuments of Ancient India."

of the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa. Unlike the rock-hewn monuments of Western India which were the handiwork of Buddhists, these Orissan caves were both excavated and for many years tenanted by adherents of the Jain religion, who have left behind them unmistakable evidences of their faith both in the early inscribed records and in the mediæval cult statues which are found in several of the caves. To this sectarian difference is due many distinctive features of the architecture, including, among others, the entire absence of Chaitya halls, for which, apparently, there was no need in the ceremonial observances of the Jains.

Taken together, the two groups comprise more than thirty-five excavations, of which the more remarkable in point of size and decoration are the Ananta-Gumphā and the Jaya-Vijaya caves on the Udayagiri hill. Besides these, there are two caves in the Udayagiri group, namely, the Hātigumphā and the Mañchapurī cave in which a special interest attaches by reason of the inscriptions carved on them.

Of the whole series, the oldest is the Hātigumphā, a natural cavern enlarged by artificial cutting on the over hanging brow of which is the famous epigraph recording the acts of Khāravēla, king of Kālīṅga. This inscription was supposed by Pandit Bhagabānlāl Indrajī and others to be dated in the 165th year of the Maurya epoch, which, if reckoned from the accession of Chandragupta would coincide with 157-6 B.C. Other scholars have, however, since denied that any such date occurs in the inscription, and at the present time, there is still a sharp division of opinion on the point. In the absence of the undoubted date in this record or in the records of Khāravēla's queen and of his successor in the Mañchapurī cave, we must endeavour to determine the age of these monuments from other sources of information. In the case of the Mañchapurī cave, the problem luckily derives some light from the style of the sculptured reliefs of the interior. This cave, erroneously called Vaikuṇṭha or Pātālapurī by earlier writers, possesses two storeys, the lower consisting of a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the end; the upper of similar design but of smaller dimensions and without any chamber at the extremity of the verandah.

It is in the upper storey of this cave that the inscription of Khāravēla's queen is incised, while in the lower are short records stating that the main and side chambers were the works, respectively of Vakradeva (Vakadepasiri or Kuḍepasiri), the successor apparently of Khāravēla and of Prince Vaḍukha.

It may be presumed, therefore, that the upper storey is the earlier of the two. The rail pattern which once adorned the broad band of rock between the two storeys is now all obliterated, but in the ground-floor verandah is a well-preserved frieze which confirms by its style what the inscriptions might otherwise lead us to suppose, namely, that next to the Hāti-Gumphā, this was the most ancient cave in the two groups. Compared with some of the reliefs of the sculptures in the locality, they are of poor, coarse workmanship, but in the depth of the relief and plastic treatment of the figures, they evince a decided advance on the work of Bhārhut, and unless it be that sculptures in this part of India had undergone an earlier and independent development (a supposition for which there is no foundation) it is safe to affirm that they are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut.

Next in chronological sequence comes the Ananta-Gumphā—a single-storeyed cave planned in much the same way as the Mañchapurī, which seems to have been the prototype of all the more important caves excavated on this site. Over the door-ways of this cave are ornamental arches enclosing various reliefs; in one standing figure of Lakṣmī supported by the usual elephants on lotus flowers; in another is the four-horsed chariot of the sun-god (?) depicted *en face*, with the crescent moon and stars in the field; in a third are elephants; in a fourth, a railed-in tree, and figures to right and left of it bearing offerings in their hands or posed in an attitude of prayer. The arch-fronts themselves are relieved by bands of birds or of animals and Amorini at play or of garlands intertwined, and over each is a pair of triple-headed snakes, while in the intermediate spaces are flying Gandharvas disposed in separate panels. The last-mentioned are more stiff and schematic than the similar figures in the Mañchapurī cave. And this, taken in conjunction with other features such as the Chubby Amorini and the treatment of the sun-god's chariot, seems to indicate for these sculptures a date not much earlier than the middle of the first century B.C.

A further stage in the development of this architecture is reached in the Rāni-Gumphā, which is at once the most spacious and elaborately decorated of all the Orissan caves. It consists of two storeys, each originally provided with a verandah—the lower 43 ft. in length with 3 cells behind, the upper 20 ft. longer with 4 cells behind; in addition to which there are chambers of irregular plan in the wings to right and left of the verandahs. In both storeys the façades of the cells are enriched with pilasters and highly ornate friezes illustrating episodes

connected with the Jain religion of which unfortunately the interpretation has not yet been established. The friezes resemble each other closely so far as their general treatment is concerned, but the style of their sculptures in the two storeys is widely different. In the upper, the composition is relatively free, each group forming a coherent whole, in which the relation of the various figures to one another is well expressed; the figures themselves are posed in natural attitudes; their movements are vigorous and convincing; and from plastic and anatomical point of view the modelling is tolerably correct. In the lower, on the other hand, reliefs are distinctly elementary and crude. The best of them, perhaps, is the group reproduced in Pl. XXVIII, 77, but even here the figures are composed as independent units connected only by their tactile congruity; their postures, too, are rigid and formal, particularly as regards the head and torso, which are turned almost direct to the spectator, and in other respects the work is stiff and schematic. At first sight it might appear that in proportion as these carvings are more primitive-looking, so these are anterior to those of the upper storey, but examined more closely, they betray traces, here and there, of comparatively mature art, which suggest that their defects are due rather to the clumsiness and inexperience of the particular sculptors responsible for them than to the primitive character of the plastic art at the time when they were produced. Accordingly, it seems probable that in this cave, as in the Mañchapurī, the upper of the two floors was the first to be excavated, though the interval of time between the two was not necessarily a long one; and there is good reason, also, to suppose that the marked stylistic difference between the sculptures of the two storeys was the result of the influence exercised directly or indirectly by the contemporary schools of central and north-western India. In this connection a special significance attaches to the presence in the upper storey of a doorkeeper garbed in the dress of a Yavana warrior, and of a lion and rider near by treated in a distinctively western Asiatic manner, while the guardian door-keepers of the lower storey are as characteristically Indian as their workmanship is immature. It is significant, too, that various points of resemblance are to be traced between the sculptures of the upper floor and the Jain reliefs of Mathurā, where, as we have already seen, the artistic tradition of the north-west, were at this time obtaining a strong foothold. The pity is that the example of these outside schools made only a superficial and impermanent impressions in Orissa—a fact which becomes clear if we consider some of the other caves on this site.

In the Ganesh-Gumphā, for example, which is a small excavation containing only two cells, the reliefs of the frieze are closely analogous in style and subject, but, at the same time slightly inferior to those in the upper verandah of the Rāni-Gumphā.

Then, in the Jaya-Vijaya, we see the style rapidly losing its animation, and in the Alakāpuri cave, which is still later, the excavation has become still more coarse and the figures as devoid of expression as anything which has survived from the Early School. The truth appears to be that the art of Orissa, unlike the art of Central or Western India, possessed little independent vitality, and flourished only so long as it was stimulated by other schools, but became retrograde the moment that inspiration was withdrawn."

18. STELLA KRAMRISCH ON RELIEFS IN THE CAVES

The reliefs that decorate the façades of all the Orissan caves have three main functions : (1) As friezes above a railing pattern, they stretch from tympanon to tympanon above the many small entrances into the caves. Mostly they are narrative. The frieze of the Ananta-Gumphā forms an exception. (2) As symmetrical compositions, on the other hand, they fill the intrados of the tympanon. This, however, is the case in the Ananta-Gumphā only. Otherwise the intrados are left plain. (3) As continuous rhythmical bands, containing animal, floral and human figures purely decorative, they rise as a lively decoration of the arch of the tympanon.

Besides these types of relief the Rāni-Gumphā has two walls of its laterally projecting *maṇḍapa*-like cells, especially on the one to the left of a large relief composition, depicting a forest scene, which reminds one of the Indra relief from Bhāja. It is one of the earliest renderings of an extensive "landscape" scene in Indian art.

Single human figures accompany the curve of bracket capitals and of the bracket supports of the railings. Single and coupled animal figures form the capitals of the entrance pilasters. Isolated male and female figures, standing as a rule and riding once (Rāni-Gumphā, upper storey), rendered on a large scale, and in a variety of types, guard the entrances.

The style of the Mañcapuri-cave reliefs puts them right at the beginning of artistic activities in the rock-cut caves of Orissa. The relatively well-preserved portion of a frieze shows, above a railing pedestal from left to right, a group of four walking figures in three-quarter profile, the hands folded in *añjali-mudrā*. All of them wear loin-cloths and scarves and

heavy earrings. The first figure is considerably damaged, but seems to wear a crown on the head. The second is decorated by a heavy mural crown as worn by the Mauryan figures. The third has locks curling into the face, a fashion much favoured during the Gupta period and a heavy chignon to the left at the back of the head, as is frequently seen in Mediæval Indian sculptures. Above these four isocephalous figures, two fat-bodied *ganas* disport themselves. Behind them appears a cross-bar, with a rope and an object suspended from it. Next to it is a lotus-petalled sun-disc with human-faced seed-pot. Divided from this group by a considerable interval, the figure of an elephant is seen coming forward, emerging from the background of the relief and turning into three-quarter profile, following the procession. It is followed by an inpetuously flying Gandharva, holding a basket.

The spacing of the figures has the restfulness and simplicity by which most of the Barhut compositions excel. A sameness of gesture makes the mood of adoration impressive in a concentrated manner. The diction is bold and simple, and denotes this relief as one instance in a long tradition, of which, however, nothing is known, as most of its work, most probably executed in a perishable material, has succumbed to the effects of time.

Besides these general features in common, what distinguishes this relief from any of the Barhut reliefs is more important than what links it up with it and with such other early Indian reliefs as those from Bhāja. Here, however, as well as in Barhut, the transition from one artistic attitude into another of quite a different temperament and outlook, is well-marked. The four standing figures, short in stature, and treated as dense rectangular volumes, are faintly reminiscent of that trend of art which during the Maurya period was still alive and degenerated in the following century into a stiff and lifeless awkwardness.

All the other figures are animated considerably. This animation, playful and purposeless in the *Gana*-figures, is enhanced into energetic speed in the onrush of the *Gandharva*-figure. The transition from the static squareness of the Mauryan figures to linear vitality—peculiar to the 2nd century B.C.,—is marked here as well as in Barhut. But there the movement is of a hesitating grace and reverential, whereas here it is not only variegated in speed and expressions, but is altogether more intense, untouched almost by any scruples of the religious mind. The craftsmanship is mediocre. Yet it took Indian sculpture eight centuries more to develop it, until at the end of the Gupta period the flying movement could be rendered as convincingly

as it is done here. The way in which the movement is enhanced from the "kneeling" bent right leg of the flying figure to the raised and outstretched left in order to culminate in the graceful diagonal of the ends of the scarve is contrasted with the playful hovering of the *gaṇas* with their enlarged, rounded and inarticulate limbs. Altogether the anatomy of the figures is more suppressed even than in Barhut in favour of an all-round smoothness of limbs, which may be seen in the treatment especially of the forelegs of the elephant, as also in the way in which the drapery is arranged into serpent-body-like "folds" and streamers. This plasticity of limbs is subservient to an easy flow of movements. It gains in liveliness by addressing itself directly to the spectator. Whereas the Barhut figures, unconcerned about his presence, enacted their parts, intensely absorbed by them or by their own existence; the figures of superhuman beings, of men and animals alike, address the spectator in three-quarter profile, so to say, or else they turn their faces in full front-view towards him. Yet in spite of forcefulness and agitation, the work on the Mañcapurī cave, with its halting and economical way as far as spacing and description go, is on one level with the work of Barhut. The features last mentioned belong to the diapason of Indian sculpture in the second century B.C.; whereas the direct emotional appeal, liveliness of gesture, and smoothness of limbs belong to a somewhat later period and are fully developed in the first century B.C. (*cf.* the relief in Mahābodhi and Sanchi) and destined to become more and more emphasized in the work of the other caves.

Although undated and without inscriptions, the reliefs of the Ananta-Gumphā on the Khaṇḍagiri, of the Rāni Gamphā, of the Jaya-Vijaya and Ganesa-Gumphā in Udayagiri are further documents for the potentialities and the successive stages of early Orissan sculpture. If the Mañcapurī reliefs are somewhat posterior to Barhut, the friezes and tympanon fillings of the Ananta-Gumphā appear to be subsequent to the early portion of the Mahābodhi railing reliefs.

The Sūrya-reliefs, here as there, apart from the similarity of subject-matter and composition, betray in either case a further step taken in the direction indicated in Barhut as well as in the Mañcapurī reliefs.

Freedom from the shackles of the static cubic form adhered to in the Maurya period had been reached partly and gained in Barhut in a painstaking and careful process, whereas this selfsame freedom was reached in the Mañcapurī reliefs with bolder vigour and impetuosity. This freedom, once gained in all the reliefs of the 2nd century B.C. and

of the succeeding period, asserts itself with ever-increasing ease. It lends to the monuments of Central India and Bihar a plastic roundness of limbs, able to display themselves with ever-growing liveliness. It adds in Orissa to such reliefs as those of the Ananta-Gumphā, a plastic volume of infinite curvilinear possibilities. The cobra-body running parallel with the extrados is the most abbreviated formulation of this inherent tendency. The chariot on which Sūrya with his two female companions are drawn is of similar construction in both the representations. The wicker-work front introduced in the Ananta-Gumphā relief facilitates the employment of smooth, elongated and rounded units. They appear again in the bent legs of the horses to which further company is added by the zigzag of the broader, serpent-like and rounded limbs of "Piṅgala" with staff and pot. The way in which his flabby body and face are modelled and are spread into the surface with great breadth, resembles the treatment of the ogress of darkness in the Sūrya relief from Bhāja. It stands in striking contrast to the relatively firm plastic form of Barhut and Mahābodhi reliefs, but it shows how the artistic traditions of Central, Eastern and Western India touched each other in certain features while yet retaining their local independence in the main.

Nothing indicates the peculiar idiom of the Ananta-Gumphā reliefs more distinctly than the sweeping variety of curves in which the necks of the prancing horses are bent hither and thither. In the corresponding Mahābodhi relief their movement is more uniform, more definitely connected with reality. The Ananta-Gumphā composition adding, as it does, the lotus disc of the sun and the bead-accompanied crescent of the moon to the figures with elbows, splayed out into the relief, obtains a peculiar fulness of an almost flowing and flat relief, which again strongly contrasts with the firmer discipline of the higher and more energetic Mahābodhi relief.

The Mañcapurī relief was remarkable specially for the direct and bold vigour of its movements. This vigour is not muscular. It is not rendered by a firm modelling, but by linear curve. The method remains the same in the Ananta-Gumphā reliefs, but what formerly expressed itself as vigour has been transmitted now into a tough pliability. The speed has slowed down. The movement unfolds itself in breadth instead of being stated in an outspoken and sharp curve (*cf.* the *Gandharva*, Mañcapurī). It appears as a continuation of that hovering playfulness that had splayed out the

clumsy limbs of the *ganas* there. But what was noticeable only in one type of figures and just in one variety there, is made now the exclusive principle of form. The boyish figures playing and rushing about in and between animal figures, amply betray this. The Lakṣmī relief, in the second tympanon of the Ananta-Gumphā corroborates it. The flying *Gandharvas* filling the single rectangular compartments of the frieze show a sweep of drapery; more to fill the surface than to express movement dynamically. The figures themselves in a flat, round and inarticulate modelling blissfully hover in their respective attitudes instead of rushing towards a goal.

The frieze of the Ananta-Gumphā deserves notice. Its main panels containing the flying *Gandharvas* suggests a barrel vaulted corridor supported in even intervals by the smooth shafts of round pillars stuck into pots. Above this runs a minor frieze, partly consisting of the usual railing pattern and partly of the combination of battlement and blue-lotus profile-pattern, well established in Barhut.

Next to these reliefs, those of the verandah, lower storey, left wing proper of the Rāni-Gumphā have to be placed. They stand in striking contrast to the few reliefs of the Mañcapuṇ lower storey that escaped defacement and specially to those of the upper storey. The complete scene with the dance, the other with the kingly person seated with his companions, as well as the minor scenes, such as the one of adoration recall the plastic treatment of the Ananta-reliefs. The contour, however is somewhat hardened, the proportions are somewhat more elongated than there. But a sameness prevails in the wide open and almost expressionless glance of the faces, in the splayed-out plastic, awkward in its flabbiness on account of the hard contour that limits it. These reliefs appear to be the work of a less-gifted hand and of a more harshly conducted tool as those of the Ananta-Gumphā, but otherwise they are the outcome of one and the same artistic mentality although they appear to be of later date.

Quite different are the scenes on the main wing and those on the corner portion of the left wing. The figures have grown in the height of the relief and in individual vivacity. Frequently one row is oversected by the other, groups of figures are formed as spontaneously and as rebellious with life as those in Sanchi. The faces have a happy smile, the movements are full of individual freedom. Their keen variety is supplemented by a factor that now becomes of a paramount importance.

This is the darkness differentiated in its depth that gives to the single figures and groups a texture elusive and rich. They form the light pattern on it.

This pattern effect of plastic forms surging into light from the darkness of the background is worked out in the most intricate manner on the walls of the projecting, portico-like side-cell. Above polygonal pilasters in pot-basis supporting a tympanon arch above animal capitals on the one façade and above less elaborate rectilinear pilasters supporting on capitals a tympanon on the adjacent side, and on the wall to its left proper a scene of forest life is carved with mangoe trees, rocks, waterfall and animals. Every single form is worked out by itself in bold relief. The forms are so densely set that the entire wall is dissolved into a deep and rough texture. Even the figure of a bird which by its smallness might become inconspicuous, is represented as a clearly visible entity by means of a receptacle, so to say, carved around it of circular or squarish shape. These very elaborate devices make up one of the earliest pure "landscape" scenes of Indian sculpture.

The forest here is rendered in the same way as the jungle grows. One forms next to the other, densely crowded, not allowing any horizon to be seen, any path to be found, an intricate pattern in which the single forms arrange themselves by crowding into every nook and corner. The heavier and more voluminous fall to the ground, the smaller and more slender forms rise up. The density of the pattern worked in high relief, pervaded by the contrast of light and shade, scarcely gives room for any rhythms except a perchance the rigorous discipline of densely set figures in superimposed rows; it is of the same type as the method of crowding with figures the reliefs of the Sanchi gateways.

Whatever the actual chronology of these undated caves may be, an inner process is at work, akin, nay parallel, to the changes that took place in the evolution of the reliefs from Barhut, through Mahābodhi, to Sanchi. These three stages are represented in Orissa by the work on the Mañcapuri, on the Ananta and Rāni-Gumphā.

Guardian figures are carved at the side of the cells of the Rāni-Gumphā or in front of the verandah pillars. Such guardian figures are to be seen on the Bhāja Vihāra rendered in a somewhat different idiom and in an earlier fashion. The figures from the Rāni-Gumphā represent most varied types in body and dress. The treatment, however, remains one

and the same. It is a modelling with naturalistic aim, elaborating the anatomy in a broadly summarizing manner. The standing posture, though generally easy,—except the one figure clad with *dhōti* only, occupying the uttermost panel of the upper storey, left wing, betrays determination. The faces are damaged beyond recognition but from the minutely variegated physique and costume it appears as if these high reliefs were meant to be portraits. The tall figure, wearing a staff in the right hand, is reminiscent in its slenderness of the Southern type as may be seen in the figure of the worshipping prince from the Jaggayapeta relief; remarkable again is the mighty bodily bulk of all the figures in the upper storey; specially striking is the man, clad in Northern style, girded with a sword and wearing high boots. Just as the Sūrya composition of the Ananta-Gumphā tympanon may be traced *viā* Mahābodhi to Mathurā, so also is the costume of this figure to be met with among the Indo-Scythian statues from Mathurā.

Of greatest artistic value, however, amongst all the early Orissan reliefs, is the frieze decorating the upper storey, main wing of the Rāni-Gumphā. It begins with the frenzied onrush of a youthful male figure, carrying a tray with floral offerings in the left and a full blown lotus in the right. Its impetuous movement is a direct descendant of that of the flying *Gandharva*, Mañcapurī. The hovering of the Ananta-Gumphā flight has sunk into oblivion. Moreover, the movement which in the first storey amounted to a gliding just above the surface of the earth, now seems to emerge from it; the left foot is still half-covered by it; it is no longer a movement from above downward, nor a hovering in mid-air, nor a gliding above the surface, but a frenzied gesture of freedom; uttered with the conviction of one who masters the decorative side of every experience. The following relief on the other side of the tympanon shows three elephants next to a prelude of a rocky landscape with cave and animals. Nothing could afford a stronger contrast to the perfectly decorative, two-dimensioned manner in which the figure with the offering was treated than this bold modelling, as impetuous in its realism and voluminous depth as the other is accomplished in width and complete organization of the surface. The daring oversecting, the mastery of mass, the agitation of light and shade and the one superb sweep by which the mighty bodies are composed into a circle have nothing in early Indian sculpture to compare with. The following scenes are more lyrical in their treatment, more bent towards the decorative, so that the animated figures,

carved in a high, yet sparingly modelled, relief become displayed lucidly over a flat background. The trend of art represented by the bulk of Barhut reliefs is still going strong. But a greater individual animation, a more dissected rhythm, a tougher sense of modelling are characteristic features. The modelling especially is conspicuous; the figures appear as if made of blown glass, so smooth is the texture of their rounded surface. This softness, however, is counteracted again by crisp movements, imparted to limbs, weapons, etc. The ambiguous character of the frieze may best be judged by comparing the elephant group with the group of girls surrounding a seated woman. Whatever has been depth there is surface here: volume is displaced by linear flow and calm surface, boldness by playfulness, altogether a perfect artistry, a last climax of a development. Its mannerism, its being oversure of itself, may be seen in such forms as offered by the back-view of the musicians where anatomy and movement are mastered and distorted to make a pattern and nothing more.

The reliefs on the Jaya-Vijaya cave may be considered a second rate side-issue of the work on the Rāni-Gumphā. The worship of the tree scene, however, deserves notice, inasmuch as it contains the clearest formulation of the spatial conceptions of early Indian sculpture, widely made use of at the days of Barhut, matured into completion in Mahābodhi and in this special example. One of the female guardian figures betrays in the slimness of her body and by the easy grace of her posture that selfsame affinity with southern Sāivite type that suggested itself already in view of the male standing figure of the Rāni-Gumphā (side wing, lower storey).

One of the latest excavations, the Ganesa-Gumphā, gives in the reliefs of its frieze a somewhat slipshod and abbreviated, though a more mature, version to the same scenes that figured with such ingenuous variety on the frieze of the upper story of the Rāni-Gumphā. From the style of the carvings the reliefs of the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, compared with the reliefs on the Buddhist railings in Bihar and Central India, cover a period of one and a half century approximately. The Mañchapurī relief and those of the Ganesa-Gumphā mark the beginning and end of this continuity.

19. RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CAVES

Rightly presuming that the bas-reliefs in the Ananta-Gumphā, the Rāni-Gumphā and such other caves on the hills of Udayagiri

and Khaṇḍagiri were not an independent local development in Orissa, Sir John Marshall finds reasons to maintain that in the depth of the reliefs and the plastic treatment of the figures, these show a development posterior to that of the sculptured reliefs on the Barhut stone-railing, and that judged by the relative inferiority and superiority of workmanship in the reliefs of different caves, these appear to reveal a successive chronology of the Orissan art. Dr. Stella Kramrisch agreeing with Sir John Marshall in many of his main points, goes so far as to regard the bulk of the Orissan cave-reliefs as standing midway in some of their essential features between the sculptures on the stone-railing at Barhut and those at Buddha-Gayā. She inclines to think that the evolutionary process of plastic art in the Orissan caves took about a century and a half from its commencement to produce all the works that we find there.

So far as their conclusions with reference to the development of plastic art in the reliefs themselves go, we may have nothing to gainsay. Our difficulty is whether at all their conclusions as to the relative chronology of the reliefs are valid so far as to decide the relative chronology of the caves themselves.

The real point at issue is whether the arch-bands with their wealth of reliefs treating of various subjects and adorning the entrances of the Ananta-Gumphā and such other caves were at all there when the caves were excavated by King Khāravela and his compatriots. The point gains in significance as we find that the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions allude to the architectural details, but not at all to any sculptured reliefs. And from the architectural point of view, the inferior workmanship and the superior workmanship as arguments respectively for the priority and the posteriority of the caves cannot bear scrutiny. It is evident from descriptions in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription itself that workmanship displayed in the costly works of art and architecture done by King Khāravela in the fourteenth year of his reign was far superior to that displayed in the 117 caves jointly excavated by King Khāravela and others in his thirteenth regnal year on the Kumāri hill for providing the resident Jain saints and recluses with suitable resting places. In one case, King Khāravela started with the distinct object of producing certain monumental works of art and architecture, and in the other, he started with the distinct object of comfortably housing the resident Jain saints and recluses.

The differences in style and workmanship may as well be accounted for by the differences in the tradition, training and skill of the artists or craftsmen employed. To prove that the caves with superior style and technique of art in their reliefs were chronologically posterior to those without reliefs, as well as to those with inferior style and technique of art in their reliefs, it is necessary, first of all, to establish that any of the caves now found with highly ornamented reliefs was not counted among the 118 caves excavated in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Khāravela's reign.

We have no evidence, as yet, to prove that. The inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khāṇḍagiri caves standing next in point of chronology to the old Brāhmī inscriptions are a few Sanskrit inscriptions, including one incised by King Udyota-Keśari in the 7th century A.D. or even at a later period. King Udyota-Keśari's inscription, as we have seen, records the installation of the images of 24 Tirthaṅkaras in three of the caves on the Khāṇḍagiri hill which are known as Navamuni, Durgā and Hanumān, and the re-excavation of an old tank. None of these mediæval inscriptions alludes to the excavation of a new cave. On the other hand, the installation of the images of 24 Tirthaṅkaras by King Udyota-Keśari and that of the images of nine sages, Durgā and Hanumān by the Hindus thereafter indicate a process of successive superaddition of stone-figures.

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